A DEFENCE OF THE PRINCIPLES OF LOVE,

Which are necessary to the *Unity* and *Concord* of Christians; and are [illegible] delivered in a Book call[illegible]

The Cure of Church-Divisions.

I. Inviting all sound and sober Christians, (by what name soever called) to receive each other to Communion in the same Churches.

II. And where that (which is first desirable) cannot be attained, to bear with each other in their distinct Assemblies, and to manage them all in Christian Love.

Written to detect and eradicate all Love-killing, dividing, and Church-destroying Principles, Passions and Practices, and to preserve the weak in this hour of manifold temptation.

By *Richard Baxter* one of the Mourners for a self-dividing and self-afflicting Land.

Psal. 120. 6, 7. *My soul hath long dwelt with him that hateth Peace. I am for Peace: but when I speak, they are for War.*

Didicerat enim (Rex Edilberth) & à Doctoribus auctoritatis; suæ salutis, servitium Christi Voluntarium, non Coactitium, debere esse. Beda Hist. Eccles. lib. 1. cap. 26

London, Printed for *Nevil Simmons*, at the Sign of the three Crowns near *Holborn* Conduit. 1671.

CAlvinus in Matth. 13. 35, 36, 37, &c. *Hoc porro multis valde abſurdum eſſe videtur, in Eccleſiæ ſinu foveri vel impios homines, vel profanos vel ſceleratos: Adde quod pleriq; zeli prætextu plus æquo moroſi, niſi omnia ad eorum votum compoſita ſint quia nuſquam apparet abſoluta puritas, tumultuoſe ab Eccleſia diſcedunt, vel importuno rigore eam evertunt & perdunt. Quare hic meo judicio ſimplex eſt parabolæ ſcopus: Quamdiu in hoc mundo peregrinatur Eccleſia, bonis & ſinceris in ea permixtos fore malos & hypocritas, ut ſe patientia arment filii Dei, & inter offendicula quibus turbari poſſent, retineant infractam fidei Conſtantiam——Eſt quidem hæc valde moleſta conditio, quod reprobis oneratur Eccleſia uſque ad finem mundi: hoc tamen tempus nobis ad patientiam ideo Chriſtus præſcribit, ne vanâ ſpe nos lactemus.——Graviter quidem Paſtores incumbere decet ad purgandam Eccleſiam; Et hac in parte ab omnibus piis adjuvandi ſunt, quatenus fert cujuſq; vocatio. Verum ubi omnes in commune mutuas operas contulerint, non tamen eo uſq; proficient, ut penitus ab omni ſorde purgent eccleſiam.—— Deinde etiam eorum Zelum frænare & moderari, qui fas eſſe non putant ſocietatem niſi cum puris Angelis colere. Qui ad extirpandum quicquid diſplicet præpoſtere feſtinant, antevertunt quantum in ſe eſt, Chriſti judicium, & ereptum Angelis officium temere ſibi uſurpant.——*

Et in Mat. 6. [*Quod Johannes privatam orandi formam tradidit suis discipulis, id fecisse existimo prout temporis ratio ferebat. Res tunc valde apud Judæos corruptas fuisse notum est : Tota certe Religio sic collapsa erat, ut mirum non sit precandi morem à patrijs ritè cultum fuisse. Rursus quum instaret promissa redemptio, fidelium mentes precandi ad ejus spem & desiderium excitari oportuit. Johannes ex variis Scripturæ locis certam aliquam precationem conficere potuit quæ tempori congrueret, ac propius accederet ad spirituale Christi regnum——*

Et in Rom. 14. 3. *Prudenter & apposite utriusq; vitiis occurrit. Hoc enim vitio laborant qui sunt firmiores, ut eos qui inanibus scrupulis detinentur, tanquam superstitiosulos despiciant, atq; irrideant : Contra hi vix sibi cavere à temerarijs judicijs queunt, ut non damnent quod non assequuntur : Quicquid fieri contra suum sensum cernunt, illud malum esse putant : Illos ergo à contemptu dehortatur, hos à nimia morositate.*]

Calvin on *Matth.* 13. This seemeth very absurd to many, that ungodly, or prophane, or wicked men, are cherished in the bosome of the Church : And very many being over morose under pretence of zeal, unless all things be composed to their desires, because absolute purity is no where to be found, do tumultuously depart from the Church, or by unseasonable rigidness do overthrow and destroy it. Therefore in my judgement, this is the simple scope of the Parable : that as long as the Church sojourneth in this world, bad men and hypocrites will be mixt with the good and sincere in it ; that Gods Children may arm themselves

ſelves with patience, and among the offences that might trouble them, may retain unbroken faith and conſtancy:———Indeed this is a very troubleſome condition, that the Church is burthened with Reprobates to the worlds end: But this is the ſpace that Chriſt preſcribeth us for patience, leſt we flatter our ſelves with empty hopes——— The Paſtors indeed muſt diligently labour to purge the Church: And in this all godly men ſhould help them, as far as their Calling doth allow. But when all men have done their beſt, they ſhall not ſo far have ſucceſs, as to purge the Church from all defilements.———And Chriſt would bridle and moderate their Zeal, who think it unlawful to have Communion (or fellowſhip) with any but pure Angels---They that prepoſterouſly make haſte to root out all that diſpleaſeth them, do as much as in them is prevent Chriſts judgement, and ſnatch and uſurp the Angels work.

Calv. on *Mat.* 6. That *John* delivered a private form of Prayer to his Diſciples, I ſuppoſe he did it in ſuitableneſs to the time. That matters were then very corrupt with the Jews, is known. All Religion was ſo collapſed, that it is no wonder that the manner of praying was rightly obſerved but by few. And when the promiſed Redemption was at hand, it was meet that the minds of the faithful ſhould by prayer be ſtirred up to deſire and hope for it. *John* might from ſeveral places of Scripture make up one certain prayer, which ſhould be agreeable to the time, and might come nearer to the Spiritual Kingdom of Chriſt.

Here I deſire the Reader again to note, that

though Prayer was then so corrupted by the Pharisees, yet Christ usually joyned in their Synagogues, Luke 14. 17. and never medled with our Controversie, about the Lawfulness of set Forms.

Calv. on *Rom.* 14. 3. *Paul* doth prudently and fitly meet with the faults of both sides: For this is the fault of the strong, that they despise and deride them as superstitious folk who are detained with vain scruples: On the contrary these can hardly forbear censorious condemning that which they understand not: And they think that to be evil, which is against their own sense. Therefore *Paul* dissuadeth the one sort from contempt, and the other from overmuch moroseness.

THE

THE CONTENTS OF THE FIRST PART.

A *Preface to those Readers who are of the Excepters mind, and are offended at my Book, called* The Cure of Church-Divisions, *Expostulating with them that have made my perswasions to Love and Communion, the occasion of their displeasure, backbitings and slanders; and proveing the necessity of Union among all real Christians, and in particular between the Non-conformists and Conformists.*

1. *The General Part, or Introduction.*

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and

and many others have reported falsly, because they wrote of that which they knew not: The Reasons of my earnest displeasing endeavours with the Bishops for Reconciling and Uniting terms in 1660. Our Common Profession about a Liturgie at that time, and about this Liturgie, and my practice ever since. How the Non-conformists must be united among themselves. Of our judgement about Communion in the Liturgie and Sacrament with the Parish Churches in an. 1663. My ends in opening this. 27. Reasons for the writing and publishing my Book called The Cure of Church-Divisions. *A word of the Debatemaker. Of the false reports that have been vented of my Book and me, and of some Inferences to be noted by the Reporters.*

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The

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Exc.

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Exc. 40. *Of my comparing* Ol. Cromwell *to* Maximus, *and whether I dedicated a flattering Book to his Son?*

Exc. 41. *Of his imputation of levity. The Concluſion,*

sion, with some advice to the Excepter, and a lamentation for the decay of Love.

A POSTSCRIPT.

SHewing *how far, as Mr.* Jacob *and the old Independents, so the* New England *Pastors and Elders (and Magistrates) are from approving of the Principles of Separation. Reasons why I am against the new terms of Church-membership, and the approaches of some Independents toward Separation. Reasons why the Independent Churches should as much fear the principles of Separation as any.*

THE

THE PREFACE TO THOSE READERS

Who are of the Excepters mind, and are offended at my Book called,

THE CURE OF Church-Diviſions.

BRethren, *why ſhould I wonder at the fruits of thoſe weakneſſes which we are all ſubject to (ſome more, ſome leſs) in this ſtate of imperfection? and which I ſo lately told you of at large, in my* Character *of and* Directions *for* Weak-Chriſtians. *If a ſpirit of* Infallibility *and* Miracles *in* Paul *and other the Apoſtles of our Lord, could not overcome theſe lamentable failings, in their hearers and followers, in the Pri-*

mitive Church, why should such as I look for more success. If Paul *thought his* Galatians *foolish and bewitched* Gal. 3. 1. *and his* Corinthian *Christians to be* babes, yea Carnal *and* not Spiritual, *because there were among them* ζῆλος καὶ ἔρις καὶ διχοστασίαι, envying, strife, *and* divisions, *or as the words signifie,* zeal *or* emulation, strife *and* separations *or* factions, *or* dividing into several parties, *while one saith,* I am of Paul, and another I am of Apollos; *what wonder if we are no better now. But our sins are not the less because that others had the like, but the* greater *because we take not warning by them, when the Spirit of God hath so smartly reprehended them.*

I have as little reason as you to be ignorant what provocations the present militating and exasperated parties do give each others; and how fair pretenses uncharitableness hath obtained. And I know but few of you that have either more openly put themselves into the breach, and attempted more to have prevented both severities against you, *and the present* divisions among us, *than I have done, or that have undergone more* wrath *and* calumny *(to mention no other kind of sufferings) for such attempts than I have done: you cannot justly think that it is for want of your provocations and temptations to discontent, that I am not of your mind. I have had as many and great provocations as most of you all: And I am not naturally without those passions, which would take advantage by such usage. A multitude of fierce and reproachful Volumes are written against me, many of them abounding with gross untruths in matter of fact; to all which I have for peace sake been silent to this day.*

And

And none that know me do think, that it is to escape mens wrath that I have been more for peace and unity than you. I will do that right to them that have done me but little, as to testifie that I verily believe, could my Conſcience comply with their Opinions and wills, I could as ſoon have their favour as moſt among you. But God is ſtill the God of Love, *and* Peace, *and* Concord; *and ſo muſt all his ſervants be: He changeth not, and* we muſt not change *from this which is his Image.* This is my Religion; *and if any mens provocations muſt change me from this, they muſt change my Religion. I am not for ſuch fruits of ſuffering as ſome late eminent priſoners in* London *were, who turned Quakers in priſon, and loſt their Religion with their liberty; nor will I pretend Conſcience for the defiling of my Conſcience, and the forſaking of the ſacred life of Love. Do you not your ſelves condemn a* Carnal ſtate? *Remember then that they are* Carnal *who are* contentious dividers *in the Churches,* 1 Cor. 3. 1, 2, 3. *You will I doubt not joyn with me in diſallowing of a* fleſhly mind *and* life: *Remember then that the* workes of the fleſh are theſe, *as* adulteries, fornications, &c. *So alſo,* hatred (*or* enmities) variance, emulations; wrath, ſtrife, ſeditions (διχοστασιαι, Dividings into parties) hereſies, envyings, &c. *I know you will confeſs that* if any man have not the ſpirit of Chriſt, the ſame is none of his, Rom. 8. 9. *Remember then that the* Spirit *of Chriſt is the ſpirit of* Love; Love *to* God *and* man *is that* Divine nature *which God indueth all Chriſts members with.* The fruit of the ſpirit is Love, joy, peace, long-ſuffering, gentleneſs, goodneſs, faith, meekneſs,

temperance, Gal. 5. 20, 21, 22. *When we think our ſelves* wiſer *than thoſe we differ from, let us not ſhew it by* maſterly cenſoriouſneſs *or* contempt, *but by being as much* more Loving *and* peaceable *than they are.* My brethren be not many Maſters, knowing that ye ſhall receive the greater condemnation. *And when other mens faults riſe up before you, watch both your paſſions and your tongues, remembring that* In many things we all offend: And if any man offend not in word, the ſame is a perfect man, and able to bridle the whole body. Who is a wiſe man and endued with knowledge among you? Let him ſhew out of a good converſation his works with meekneſs of wiſdom: But if ye have a bitter envious zeal and ſtrife in your hearts, glory not and lie not againſt the truth: This wiſdom deſcendeth not from above, but is earthly, ſenſual, devilliſh: For where envying zeal (ζῆλος) and ſtrife is, there is confuſion and every evil work, Jam. 3. 1, 2, 13, 14, 15, 16. *Brethren no change of times will allow me to change from this which is my Religion: No injuries from men will excuſe me if I forſake it. I hope I ſhall not be ſuch a changeling in this which is the Great Command of the Goſpel, and the fulfilling of the Law, and the very* Heart *of all Religion, as to turn from it for a priſon or a voluminous calumny and reproach. I confeſs I muſt change, but I hope it will be, to turn ſtill to more and more Love and Concord, and not to Leſs. It is not thank worthy to Love thoſe that Love us, nor to ſpeak well of thoſe that uſe us well, nor to take it patiently when we are buffetted or puniſhed for our faults: But if we ſuffer for well doing,*

and

and loſe none of our Love or patience or integrity by our ſufferings, happy are we. Alas how ſadly do many miſtake, that fear only yielding to thoſe whom they ſuffer by, and do not fear thoſe paſſions, which would quench their Love, and turn them unto ſects and hereſies, in meer oppoſition to their afflicters.

I know that the great objection is, That under pretence of Love, I would bring ungodly perſecutors into reputation, and tempt men to unlawful Communion with them, and that I make an ill application of good principles, to hide the odiouſneſs of their ſins, that care ſo little for the ſouls of men, as their uſage of Miniſters and people doth openly declare. If I had only perſwaded you to unite in Love to one another, and not to think better of the deſtroyers of the Church, nor to comply with them in their Idolatrous way of worſhip, you could have born it.

Brethren, will you, that take it for injuſtice in a Judge, who will condemn a man before he hear him ſpeak for himſelf, be intreated but to repreſs your paſſions for a little while, till you have calmely conſidered theſe things following.

1. *Did I ever perſwade you to think well of the faults of other men, while I perſwaded you to love their perſons? (unleſs you call the Communion a fault of which we are to ſpeak anon) Did I ever ſeek to abate your diſlike of the ſins which you muſt ſpeak againſt? Either malignity, cruelty, perſecution, or any other.*

2. *The thing which I perſwaded men to in that book, was Communion with all Chriſtians, (but differently as they differ in degrees of purity.) That*

which I motioned and pleaded for, I ſummed up in the latter end, with the contrary extreams; which you may there read in five propoſitions, 1. To adhere to the primitive ſimplicity, and make nothing neceſſary to our Concord and Communion which is not ſo. 2. To love your neighbours as your ſelves, and receive thoſe to Communion whom Chriſt receiveth, and that hold the foreſaid neceſſary things, be they Epiſcopal, Presbyterian, Independents, Anabaptiſts, Calviniſts, Arminians, Lutherans, &c. ſo they be not proved heretical or wicked. *Peruſe the reſt. When you come to your ſelves you will confeſs that this was no unreaſonable nor unchriſtian motion? Which of all theſe* Parties *is it that you are angry with me for perſwading you to Communion with? Muſt* every one *of the Parties renounce Communion with all the reſt? O how unlike is this doctrine to that of the Holy Ghoſt?* 1 Cor. 1. 10. & 3. 1, 2, 3. Rom. 14. & 15. &c. *If not* every one, *which of them is it? Is any one of all theſe* Parties, *the whole* Church *of God? who dare ſay ſo? Why ſhould I refuſe Communion with* any one *of theſe, while I ſcruple not Communion with* all the reſt. *Or if it muſt be but with* one ſort, *how ſhall I know which of them it muſt be?*

I know ſome men judge of others by their Own opinions *and* ſelf intereſt: *But is that indeed the Chriſtian Rule? Some of the Epiſcopal way are angry with me for including the Independents; when I doubt not but the far greater part of them are the ſincere ſervants of Chriſt: And ſince their Synods late moderation, I know not many Churches in the world, beſides the* Waldenſes *of the* Bohemi-

an,

an, Polonian *and* Hungarian *Government, who are neerer to my own judgement, in Order and Diſcipline than thoſe in New England are, and none that for Piety I prefer before them. Some are angry with me for taking in the Anabaptiſts: when it is not ſuch as the* Munſter *Anabaptiſts that we have to do with, but godly men, that differ from us in a point ſo difficult, that many of the Papiſts and Prelatiſts have maintained, that it is not determined in Scripture, but Dependeth on the tradition of the Church. I am not of their mind, and I have given them my reaſons in my book for Infant Baptiſm: But having had more invitation to ſtudy the point throughly, and treat of it largely, than moſt of thoſe that are offended herein, let them give me leave to ſay, that I know it to be a very difficult point; And I know as good and ſober men of that mind, as of theirs that are moſt againſt them; And I know that in the dayes of* Tertullian, Nazianzene, Auguſtine, *men had liberty to be baptized, or to bring their children, when and at what age they pleaſed, and none were forced to go againſt their Conſciences: And I know not that our Rule or Religion is changed, or that we are grown any wiſer or better than they. I once motioned terms of Concord to the Anabaptiſts, and was in as hopeful a way for Peace with them, as with moſt others, till* ——

Some are offended that I put in the Arminians; when I am confident that there is not one of many hundreds, who are againſt Communion with them that know what Arminianiſme is, and truly underſtand the difference. And the ſame men refuſe not Communion with thoſe Anabaptiſts *who are* Arminians. *And it hath been the work of not only*

Mr. Dury, *but many other excellent men, for many years, to reconcile the Lutherans with the Calvinists! and it hath justly been thought a blessed work to draw them to Communion with each other! And yet the Lutherans are not only of most of the Arminan opinions, but also have superintendents, liturgies, ceremonies, exorcisme, Church-images*, &c. *When so much labour hath been bestowed in this work, and so many excellent Treatises written for it, by pious* Dury, Junius, Paræus, Calixtus, Ludov. Crocius, Joh. Bergius, Conrad. Bergius, Hattonus, Amyraldus, Hall, Davenant, Morton, &c. *When all sober Protestants have prayed for their success, or approved this design, are we now come to that pass, that those that seem the zealousest for the Church and mutuall Love, shall think it to be a sin, either to hold Communion with the Lutherans, or to write for it?*

But the great offence is that I put in the Episcopal, *as fit for our Communion; which I suppose is principally because of their* manner of worship, *in which we must have Communion with them. Which foreseeing, I answered more objections* against this *than against the rest; which hath occasioned some falsly to affirm, that I write only to draw men to Communion with the* Church *of* England. *I will therefore here proceed to some further expostulations of this point.*

3. *Is there ever a word in all my Book, perswading you to Communion with a Diocesan Church, as such?*

4. *Is there one word in it for your Communion with a national Church, that hath one political spiritual Constitutive Head under Jesus Christ; (though the*

the Kings Supremacie none of us queſtion) *Do I once* meddle *with any ſuch thing?*

5. *Is there a word to perſwade you to Communion with* Perſecutors? *Though I am forced to diſpleaſe you by anſwering that objection, and telling you that we ſhould be* Impartial, *and remember what moſt parties or many have done to others; which you were not able it ſeems, to bear, though it was plainly neceſſary to the due reſolution of the Caſe in queſtion, whether any Perſecutors may be Communicated with?*

6. *Is there one word to perſwade you that* every Pariſh *is a true Church, and fit to be Communicated with? If none of all this be there, I hope your Patience is not very hard put to it, if I do but intreat you to repent, if you have ſaid that of it which is untrue, whoever told you ſo, or at leaſt, not to proceed in untruths when you are ſo often warned of them.*

7. *Do you think that it was done like tender conſcienced Chriſtians, for ſo many to ſay, that I write againſt* your meetings, *yea that* I conformed *my ſelf? And this before ever they ſaw my book, or ever ſpake with man that ſaw it? And that men dare yet continue ſuch ſayings while the book is viſible to prove them falſe? and revile againſt it when they confeſs that they never read it? Is this the fruit of the ſpirit of Chriſt?*

But give me leave after theſe expoſtulations, to come a little nearer to your objection, and to tell you openly where we differ.

1. *You would have me ſpeak for Love and Unity among the Nonconformiſts: (And I know no man that hath done it more frequently and more openly than*

Mr. Dury, *but many other excellent men, for many years, to reconcile the Lutherans with the Calvinists! and it hath justly been thought a blessed work to draw them to Communion with each other! And yet the Lutherans are not only of most of the Arminan opinions, but also have superintendents, liturgies, ceremonies, exorcisme, Church-images, &c. When so much labour hath been bestowed in this work, and so many excellent Treatises written for it, by pious* Dury, Junius, Paræus, Calixtus, Ludov. Crocius, Joh. Bergius, Conrad. Bergius, Hattonus, Amyraldus, Hall, Davenant, Morton, &c. *When all sober Protestants have prayed for their success, or approved this design, are we now come to that pass, that those that seem the zealousest for the Church and mutuall Love, shall think it to be a sin, either to hold Communion with the Lutherans, or to write for it?*

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7. *Do you think that it was done like tender conſcienced Chriſtians, for ſo many to ſay, that I write againſt* your meetings, *yea that I* conformed my ſelf? *And this before ever they ſaw my book, or ever ſpake with man that ſaw it? And that men dare yet continue ſuch ſayings while the book is viſible to prove them falſe? and revile againſt it when they confeſs that they never read it? Is this the fruit of the Spirit of Chriſt?*

But give me leave after theſe expoſtulations, to come a little nearer to your objection, and to tell you openly where we differ.

1. *You would have me ſpeak for Love and Unity among the Nonconformiſts: (And I know no man that hath done it more frequently and more openly than*

than I have done; having these 24 years been offering or publishing terms of peace.) But God forbid that ever I should be of their opinion (if there be any such) who think that our union must be only with a Party, and not with the whole Church of Christ; or that we must Love none, or seek peace with none but those, that are in such points of our own opinion? I am united first to Christ and the universal Church, and consequently to all the parts as such; though in divers degrees as they differ themselves in their Conformity to Christ.

2. I beseech you endure me with patience to tell you, that I never took either the Non-conformists alone, or the Conformists to be the whole Church of Christ, or to be his only people in this Land: nor the only faithful Ministers of the Gospel. Brethren, let not wrath and the faults of some, deceive us to become injurious to others; or to deny them Love and Justice, because that many of their opinion are bad. Where in all the world, do you know a Kingdom, where the greater part are not too bad, and where those that are of the Rulers Religion, be it never so right, do not comply with it to serve their flesh? The Low Countries have no Bishops nor Ceremonies, nor no such Liturgie as most are offended at with us, but are under the Presbyterian Government: And yet what the Common sort are there, and in other such Countries, I need not tell you. Forgive me for telling you, that if you know no godly persons (Ministers or others) of the Episcopal way, I do, and long have done: And as my acquaintance increaseth I know more and more. You that take me to be so bad, as the Antidote describeth me, will think it no great commendation to them, that I pro-

fess

ſeſt to know thoſe of them, whom I take to be much better than my ſelf: Therefore I will ſay a greater word, that I know thoſe of them whom I think as godly and humble Miniſters, as moſt of the Non-conformiſts whom I know. I doubt not but there are many hundred Pariſh Miniſters, who are no Perſecutors, nor ever conſented to Perſecution! who Preach holily, and live holily, though I could wiſh that they were more. And what reaſon have you to charge any other mens ſins on them? I am not ignorant what may be ſaid to make them conſequentially *partakers. But I muſt ſay this in anſwer to all; that if God will charge* undiſcerned conſequences *upon them and us, there will none of us all be found meet for Church Communion, or for heaven.*

I am judged by your ſelves to be too cenſorious of you, *and too ſharp in telling* you *of that which I doubt not to be your ſin: why then are you ſo offended with me for being* no more cenſorious *and* ſharp *towards others? was I ever thought to be kinder* to them *than* to you? *Is not every man* naturally *moſt favourable to thoſe of his* own opinion? *Is it* Conformity *or* Non-conformity *which I have moſt* defended? *Is it as a* Conformiſt *or a* Non-conformiſt *that I have been* judged *and uſed theſe* 33. *years? It is they that have lately written reproachfully againſt me: It is they that have ——— I need name no more. But for the Non-conformiſts I muſt bear witneſs of their kindneſs to me, that they never rejected me, never forbad me to preach (but one Sermon,) nor, (except particular angry parties whom I wrote againſt,) they never denyed me their good word. What then can you think ſhould draw me to be* too ſharp againſt them, *and too favoura-*

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ble to the other? *I look for no worldly advantage or benefit from them. Surely he that is apt to be* too sharp, *is liker to be so against* dissenters *from whom he* suffereth, *than against those that have ever been his friends? But truth is truth, and the* wisdom from above is without partiality and without hypocrisie. *Do but mark how both parties* justifie *me, while both condemn me, (though I am too Conscious of my faultiness to justifie my self) The one side think that I am not half* sharp enough *against the Anabaptists, Separatists and Independents: And you that I now write to, think that I am not half* sharp enough *against the* Conformists: *so that one side doth not only justifie me from the charge of censoriousness or sharpness against the other, but blame me for the contrary, and are angry with me that I am no* sharper. *But Gods judgement of us all is right, and his seal is sure,* The Lord knoweth who are his *whoever shall deny it. God will not judge of upright Christians as they judge of themselves, when they unjustly accuse themselves; Much less according to the judgement of their adversaries.*

Brethren, I think verily that I have as much to say against conformity, as it is required of us Ministers, as most of you that are most angry have: And yet I tell you again, that I believe there are many hundred Godly Ministers in the Parish Churches of England, *and that their Churches are true Churches, and that I think not my self worthy to be compared with Mr.* Bolton, Whately, Fenner, *Dr.* Preston, Sibbes, White, Field, Usher, Jewel, *and abundance other old Conformists: And you might forgive me, if I compare them with* your selves,

ſelves, *and if I again profeſs to you, that if they were all alive, and uſed now the ſame Liturgy and Ceremonies as they did then, I could not find in my heart to think their Communion in Prayer and Sacrament to be unlawful, nor to cenſure that man as injurious to the Church, who ſhould write to perſwade others not to ſeparate from them on that ſuppoſition. I am ſure the Aſſembly of Divines that ſate heretofore at* Weſtminſter, *were ſo conformable when they went thither, that I never heard of five Non-conformiſts among them, beſides the five diſſenting brethren: Their judgement was (as Mr.* Sprints) *that Conformity was lawful in caſe of neceſſity, rather than to be deprived of liberty to preach the Goſpel; but that it was a burden which they ſhould caſt off as ſoon as they had liberty ſo to do: And I knew ſome who urged them to declare their Repentance for their former conformity, and to have confeſſed it to have been their ſin. But I never heard of any conſiderable number of them that ever did it, or that changed their minds: And though* Miniſterial Conformity *(as to* Engagements*) is now much altered, many of them that are yet living do again conform. And though I then was not, nor yet am of their mind my ſelf, yet I would not ſhun Communion with the Reverend members of that Aſſembly* (Twiſſe, Gataker, Whittaker, *and the reſt) if again they were rulers of the Liturgie among us.*

3. *But what if in all this I be miſtaken, and if Communion in the Liturgie prove unlawful? ſhould you be ſo impatient as not to bear with one that in ſuch an opinion differeth from you? As I write for my opinion, ſo do you for yours? And why ſhould*

not

not you bear with my dissent, as well as I do with yours? My judgement commanded me, First *to* exhort all sober Christians, to draw neerer, and to lay by those principles, which drive them from each other as not to be Communicated with: And Secondly, where that cannot be obtained, to bear with one another in our several Assemblies or Churches, *and to* manage them with Love and peace. *This was my exhortation, And the time once was (even when the five Dissenting brethren pleaded their cause with the Assembly at* Westminster,) *that this motion would have been accepted, or at least not judged so great an injury as now it is. O brethren, do not expose your selves and cause, so much to the censure of impartial men, and of posterity, as to let them know that you are grown so high, or that in the very day of our humiliation these terms seem so injurious to you, as these exceptions intimate. Mr.* Nye *and Mr. Tho.* Goodwin *were so friendly with Dr.* Preston, *as to publish his works when he was dead. And I verily think if you had been acquainted with such Conformists heretofore, as he was, and Dr.* Stoughton, *and Dr.* Taylor, *and Mr.* Downam, *and those forenamed, and abundance more, you could not choose but have thought them both* tolerable *and* lovely, *if you had not thought it lawful to Communicate with them: Much more you should have endured such as the* Non-conformists *of that age, who used* Parish Communion, *and pleaded for it against the Separatists, in* far sharper *language than ever I used to you (as their books against* Johnson *and* Cann *and* Brown *and* Ainsworth *do yet visibly declare.) If you think* their Reasons *and* mine *for the Lawfulness*

fulneſs of Pariſh Communion *to be inſufficient, ſo do I think of yours againſt it.*

I have read divers that charge the Liturgie with Idolatry. *Did I ever lay ſo heavy a charge* on you? *Did I ever ſay that it is unlawful to have Communion* with you, *as you ſay it is to have Communion with* others? *Why then ſhould you not bear with* leſſer *Contradiction, when others muſt bear with far* greater from you? *Will you proclaim your ſelves to be the more impatient? You will then make men think that you are the moſt guilty.* You *ſay of ſuch men as thoſe before named* [your worſhip is Idolatry, *and* it is unlawful for any Chriſtian to hold Communion with you in it, *and* all that are preſent *and* joyn with you are guilty of the Idolatry.] *I do but ſay, that* [you make the Caſe more odious than it is, *and* injure others by this charge] *What a world are we come to, when thoſe that you count unworthy of your Communion, muſt not take your charge of* Idolatry *as* too ſharp, *and yet* you *that ſhould be moſt patient, take it for a heynous crime and injury, to be told that you* wrong them, *and that you judge too hardly of them? and that their Communion is not unlawful!*

Nay, is it ſeemly for thoſe men that have ſaid and done ſo much, *(I ſay,* ſo much,*) for* Liberty of Conſcience, *and would never conſent to the* Weſtminſter *Aſſembly to declare againſt it, even as to thoſe parties, whom you counted very erroneous your ſelves, to be yet ſo impatient of* our liberty *to tell the Church* our judgement *about the* Lawfulneſs *of other mens Communion? Is it meet for them who are offended with thoſe that ſilence us and reſtrain*

us of our liberty, to be so tender, as to shew by such language as this Excepter useth, and by such unjust fames as some others have dispersed, how little themselves can bear dissenters?

I know that displeasure and impatience in the divers parties, is expressed *different wayes; But O that yet you would consider, how near of kin the* principles *are, and how much defect of* Love *and* Patience *there is* in you *as well as* others.

4. *And I intreat you to mark but what your own objection intimateth: You could endure it if I had only pleaded for* Peace *and* Concord *among the* Non-conformists: *But doth not this intimate, that* Peace *and* Concord *in it self is desirable, among all those that* should agree *and be* united? *Why, I am as well able to prove that* all true Christians *should have* Peace *and* Love *and* Concord *for the strength of the Universal Church, as any of you all are able to prove, that any one Party should have Concord in it self. The Episcopal part would have all possible Concord among those that are Episcopal; and the Presbyterians among Presbyterians, and the Independents among Independents, and the Anabaptists among Anabaptists; no party is for Divisions among themselves, till the particular temptation doth prevail. And yet I am not* pardonable *for motioning, that all sober Christians, as Christians, may have all possible Love, Peace and Concord among themselves.*

Brethren, I am sure that Christs body is but one: I do not despise all those words of Christ and the Spirit which I cited in my book: I know that the diversity of knowledge and gifts among true Christians, should not make diversities of Churches,

1 Cor. 12.

1 Cor. 12. *When I* know *this, and* cannot choose *but know it, why should any be angry with me* for knowing it? I know *that the Godly Conformists and Non-conformists in* England should be united, *as well as each party among themselves; I know that our division gratifieth the Papists, and greatly hazardeth the Protestant Religion, and that more than most of you seem to believe or to regard;* I know *that our division advantageth Profaneness, and greatly hindereth the success of Ministers on both sides: I* know *that it greatly pleaseth Satan, and buildeth up his Kingdom, and weakneth the Kingdom of our Lord: His own mouth hath told us so: And shall I not believe him? As in our* Worcestershire *Agreement heretofore, we proceeded on terms which excluded not the* Episcopal; *so in our desires and terms of Concord, we must still go the same way, and shut out none from our Love and Communion, whom Christ receiveth and would have us receive. If* they *shut out* us, *that is not* our sin *but* theirs. *The hurt and loss is farr more to the* excluder than the excluded; *to him that* loseth his Charity, *than to him that loseth but* Communion *with others. And I know that as none shall take out of Christs hands, those that are given him by the Father, and he himself will in no wise cast them out; so he will at last give no more thanks either to* Diotrephes *or to any* separating parties, *that would rob him of his own, and say that his* Children *are* not his Children, *and that his* Churches *are* not his Churches, *and that his* Worship *is* not his Worship, *but* Idolatry, *than you will give to him that will turn out your Children and servants, and take away your*

goods and Lands, and say that they are not yours.

Brethren, it grieveth me to the heart, that neither party Conformable or Non-conformable is more sensible of the sin and danger of our distance. (Though I know that in both parties there are many wise and holy persons, who I suppose lament it more than I do.) It layeth my soul in daily lamentations, to see how we run further and further from each other; to the apparent danger of the Protestant Cause, and of the Kingdoms welfare, and of all the hopes of our posterity; And that in stead of repenting of these sins which every party is guilty of, and taking warning by our former experiences, or by the dreadful judgements of God upon us all, that yet we are daily losing the little Love that is left, and still flying further into more and more exasperations and distast; As if all the Church and Kingdoms hopes consisted in overcoming one another. When our long experience telleth us, that subduing those that must still be members, is no Cure of a divided body; and that treading men down doth but alienate them the more.

And I know that it is Concord and Union upon such terms in which we are all agreed, that must be our Cure, if ever we be Cured. And that no Covenant nor partial interest, can possibly justifie us, if we will stablish our union on such terms, as shall either exclude such on one side as Jewel, Grindal, Downam, Hall and other such Bishops, or such on the other side as Ames, Hildersham, Cartwright, Bayne, Egerton, and other such worthy persons that were Nonconformists:

For my part, my terms should neither exclude, Episcopal, Independent, nor Anabaptist. But one that

that will ſeparate *and* exclude himſelf, *or que that will* tyranize *and exclude* all others, *we cannot any otherwiſe have Concord and Communion with, than diſtantly by Chriſtian principles and patience. But at long running they ſhall be all convinced, that the Cure of the Church is not by meer* Conqueſt *or* Contempt *of others; Nor by the Union and Concord of* ſome Parties *only, but of the* whole; *And that the ſound and ſober Conformiſts and Non-conformiſts, are the parts in* England, *that muſt be united; And that neither* Violence *nor* unjuſt ſeparating Cenſures *are the* healing way; *And that which party ſoever it be that contriveth and endeavoureth a Union, by the extirpation and ruine of the other part, is ſchiſmatical, and taketh the way of deſolation; And that it is the Devil, the Infidels, and the Papiſts, that will be the gainers by our continued diviſions. And therefore though I know not the man alive, in* England *who hath more fair pretence, from the ungrateful uſage of the differing parties, to deſiſt from any more ſuch conciliatory attempts, yet, let my hopes be never ſo low, ſeeing it is a thing that* muſt be done, *or we are* undone, *I will imitate honeſt Mr.* Dury, *and chooſe rather to waſt my daies in vain attempts for Peace, than to go quarrelling and contending to the grave, as I have ſeen too many others do.*

And if both parties in this exaſperated age, ſhould never ſo much revile and ſlander me, (though a ſurviving name be little of my intereſt) I make no doubt but our poſterity, *will be* conſtrained by experience, *to think better of* Peace-makers *than of* Contenders. *The names of* Melanchthon, Bucer, Calixtus, Bergius, Burroughs, Hall,

Davenant, &c. *are far more grateful and honourable to after times, than the name of* Flacius *(though an excellent learned man) or of* Schlusselburgius, Calovius, *or any of our fiery Contenders or destroyers.*

To all this I add, that even the separated Churches themselves do find a necessity of Union and Concord for their preservation. Division else will pursue the several pieces, and the same principles which I write against, if they go along with them, will crumble them all to dust. The separated Churches in Holland *(of the English) fully proved this. Even those members in* New-England, *which Mr.* Norton *sadly told Mr.* Ash *and me, did withdraw and gather themselves to an unlearned Pastor, and would not be intreated by Magistrates or Ministers, yet when they were separated, would fain keep Concord among themselves. And if half of that separated body, should again have separated from the rest, that fragment would fain keep themselves in Unity. And still nature teacheth them to feel that their Unity is their strength and life, and that their Division is their dissolution.*

5. *And I must needs tell the world, that though I Conform not, it is greater things than the matters of Conformity, which are the chief parts of my Religion; And therefore it is not* Non-conformity *that we must all Unite in, so much as* Christianity, *and Soundness in the Faith. And I doubt not but the Independents who offer to subscribe to the Doctrine of the Church of* England, *will say that they differ far more from the Quakers, and Seekers, and Familists, than they do from the Conformists. And*

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so do I, though I would have Love and Gentleness exercised to them all.

6. And if the present Conformable Ministry were more to be blamed than they are, yet they may learn and profit *while they teach. Many of them are young, coming lately from the University, and may yet grow up to ability and piety, and greater usefulness in the Church: And many of them are prejudiced against their brethren, for want of acquaintance: And a Christian prudent Loving familiarity and Conversation with them, may make them in time become more serviceable to the truth, than we are: whereas a continued distance, estrangedness, and censorious aversation, will feed their mistakes and uncharitable censures of us, yea and their sharp severities against us, and will keep up a heart-war, and a Church-war in the land. And alas who knoweth either* when *or* how, *or in whose calamity it will End. For he that puts on his armour should not boast as he that puts it off.*

I do therefore conclude with this repeated profession, that it is the Conformists and the Non-conformists that constitute the English protestant body; And it is the Conformists and Non-conformists that must at last, (when they are wearied with tearing and opposing one another) be brought together, and the faithful of both partyes must build up the Church in Love and Peace. And therefore the interest of the Protestant Religion, *must be much kept up by the means of the* Parish Ministers, *and by the* doctrine *and* worship *there performed; and not by the Non conformists alone. And they that think and endeavour that which is contrary to this (of which side soever) shall have the hearty thanks and concurrence of the Papists.*

Him therefore that is weak in the faith receive ye, but not to doubtful disputations. Let not him that eateth despise him that eateth not. And let not him which eateth not judge him that eateth: For God hath received him. Who art thou that judgest another mans servant? ——— The Kingdom of God is not meat and drink, but Righteousness, and Peace, and Joy in the Holy-Ghost: For he that in these things serveth Christ, is acceptable to God, and approved of men. Let us therefore follow after the things which make for peace and the things wherewith one may edifie another. And blessed are the Peace-makers, for they shall be called the children of God.

THE GENERAL PART OR INTRODUCTION TO THE DEFENCE OF MY CURE OF Church-Divisions.

Being a Narrative of those late Actions which have occasioned the Offence of men on both Extreams; with the true Reasons of them, And of these Writings, which some account Unseasonable: with the true stating of the Case of that Separation, which my opposed Treatise medleth with; And an Answer to several great Objections.

Printed in the Year. 1671.

I. THE GENERAL PART, OR INTRODUCTION.

CAP. I.

The Narrative of thoſe late Actions, which have occaſioned mens diſpleaſure againſt me on both ſides: with the Reaſons of them, and of my Writing, which I am now defending.

THE number of Books written againſt me is ſo great, that if I ſhould not be very ſuſpicious of my ſelf, leſt I had wronged the truth, and the Church of God, and given men juſt occaſion of all this obloquy, I ſhould be very defective in humility, and in that care, which I am obliged to for the avoiding of ſuch injuries. And I find upon examination that

if

if I could have let all sides alone, and judged it consistent with my duty to be silent while the envious man sowed his tares, and not to have contradicted any that I took to be injuring the Truth and Church, nor to have sounded the trumpet against any error which arose before us, I could as easily have escaped their wrath as others. And I find that whereas our differences both in Doctrine, and Worship, and Discipline, have engaged men of several minds in such writings against me. (Some Infidels, diverse Quakers, Papists, Antinomians, some Arminians, some Anti-arminians, Anabaptists, Separatists, Levellers, Diocesans, &c.) What one accuseth me of, another doth not only acquit me of, but ordinarily as sharply accuse me for the contrary, and for going no further from the rest. So that nothing but silence could put by their fiercest accusations, And silence it self will not please the Imperious sect, who think me criminal, because I serve them not according to their own desire and way. And silence was not that which I promised God at my ordination, nor is it a doing of that work, to which I was then consecrated and devoted.

But because some men speak in a more Sanguinary dialect than others, and because the late charges of Disloyalty, ought not to be disregarded by a loyal subject, and because for the sakes of their own souls, it hath often made me pitty Mr. *Durel*, Dr. *Boreman*, and many others like them, who have published ugly falsehoods of me, I once thought to have here exercised so much Charity to them, as by a full Narrative of all

those

those actions of my life, which concern such matters as they accuse me of, to have rectified all their mistakes at once, and made them understand, what it is, which they wrote of before they understood it: And the rather because this excepter followeth them, in telling me how guilty I was of the wars, and all the effects of them, and also that I wrote a flattering book to *Richard Cromwell*. And in this narrative I purposed to confess so much as had any truth in their accusations, and to stop them in their falsifications and calumnies as to the rest. But upon second thoughts, I call it by, perceiving by too long experience, that they who are engaged against the Truth, are unable to bear it, and take all for an unsufferable wrong to them, which detecteth the falsehood of their reports. And when men do (as Mr. *Hinkley*) importune me to publish the reasons of my Non-conformity, when they know that the Law forbiddeth it, and there is no expectation of procuring a Licence, or when the old stratagem is so vilibly used, of drawing us by their challenges into their Ambuscad'es; or when I am eagerly provoked to gape against an oven, while it is red or flaming hot; If I crave their patience, and exercise my own, till it be grown more cool, before I accept of such a challenge, and suffer them to use their Art (till repentance shall unteach it them) and to make my *name* a stepping stone, to those ends which they now aspire after, methinks they should be content, to talk on without a contradiction, and to be free from the light of that Truth, which they are not able to endure; Or at least should pardon me, if I imitate my Lord, that

that was silent, even when false accusers sought his defamation and his blood. But, God enabling me, I promise them an answer, as soon as they will procure me License and Indemnity.

In the mean time, I shall now only, 1. Tell you why I offended one side, by saying so much against their impositions, 2. And why I have since offended the other, yea both sides, by my late Book called, *The Cure of Church-Divisions.*

Before the King was restored, being then at London, I was called to preach two publick sermons; [illegible] one before the Parliament, the day before they voted the Kings return; The other before the Lord Major and Aldermen on a day of thanksgiving for the hopes of his return. In the latter I plainly shewed my sense of the case of the *falling party*, and the *Armies actions*, and gave as plain a warning to the then *rising party*, with some prognosticks thereupon. In the former (the first that ever I preached to a Parliament, and the last,) I spake some words of the facility of Concord with the sober godly moderate sort of the Episcopal Divines, and how quickly Arch-Bishop *Usher* and I came to an Agreement of the termes on which they might Unite. When this Sermon was Printed, this passage caused many moderate Episcopal Divines to urge me to tell them the terms of that Agreement; And they all professed their great desires and hopes of Concord upon such termes; viz. Dr. *Gaulton*, Dr. *Allen*, Dr. *Bernard*, Dr. *Fuller*, Dr. *Gauden*, and several others. Dr. *Gauden* desired a meeting to that end of the several parties, but none came at the day appointed but he and Dr. *Bernard*, and

Dr.

Dr. *Manton* and I; where I ſpake theſe words, which he Printed without the limitation annexed, which I ſet right in my next Printed Book, viz. *That I found (then) little or nothing, in the doctrinal part of the Common prayer Book, which was not ſound, having but as favourable an expoſition as good mens writings uſually muſt have.* He left out [*the doctrinal part*]

At laſt when the Earle of *Orrery* perſwaded me to be his Majeſties Chaplain in Ordinary, and was preſent when the Earl of *Manchester* gave me (and Mr. *Aſh*) an oath of fidelity, it being he that firſt brought me acquainted with Biſhop *Uſher*, the mention of the ſame buſineſs fell in: Whereupon we ſhortly after were told by the Lord Chamberlain, that it was his Majeſties pleaſure, that there ſhould be a treaty for Union between the Epiſcopal party and the Presbyterians: And Dr. *Reignolds*, Mr. *Calamy*, Mr. *Aſh* and my ſelf being firſt Employed, when we had made ſome entrance, we deſired that ſome might be choſen by the Miniſters throughout the land, to ſignifie their ſenſe, becauſe we could ſpeak in the name and ſenſe of none but our ſelves; But his Majeſty not conſenting to that, we deſired an addition of many brethren at hand, which was granted; and the liberty for all Miniſters that would to meet with us, for conſultation, as many did at Sion-Colledge and elſewhere. In this Treaty we all profeſſed our Judgements for the Lawfulneſs of a Liturgie; and deſired the Reformation of that which we had, with the addition of new forms in Scripture phraſe, fitted to the ſeveral Offices, with Liberty to the Miniſters

sters to use this or that. Whereupon we drew up such a Liturgie our selves, which though it fell to my share, yet the rest of our brethren examined and approved of it, saving that Dr. *Reignolds* disliked the displeasing the Bishops by such large additions, and a Liturgie seeming entire of it self, instead of *some additional* prayers to theirs. How many weeks we were employed from first to last, in these debates, how fully and freely we took that opportunity to plead for reformation, and against unnecessary impositions, whilest the men that now quarrel with us said nothing that we know of; how hard a province fell to my own lot, as to the offending of the Bishops, under whose hot displeasure I thereby (in obedience to my Conscience) did cast my self, our writings (which somebody hath published for the greater part of them) shew; and our *Savoy* conference, and my prohibition to preach in *Worcester* Diocess shortly after (before other Ministers were silenced) and the published writings against me, did all sufficiently acquaint the world: And the particulars of this business I now pass by.

Only I think meet to make this twofold profession, to the two parties on the Extreams;

1. That the true reason why I wrote and spake so much, so long, and so vehemently, had it been possible to have prevented many Impositions, was principally because I undoubtedly foresaw how great a number of faithful worthy Ministers would else be silenced by them; and how ill the Church could spare those Ministers, while there are so many hundred thousands of ignorant and ungodly people in the land; and what sort of

Ministers

Miniſters in too many places muſt unavoidably ſucceed them, unleſs the Church doors ſhould be ſhut up? and I foreſaw how the people under ſuch Miniſters would be affected to Religion, and to the Biſhops, and Miniſtry? And I foreſaw what multitudes of Religious perſons would take the things impoſed as unlawful, and would ſeparate from Communion with the publick Churches; and would worſhip God in private meetings with the ſilenced Miniſters. I foreſaw how many Miniſters and people that did Conform with a grudging Conſcience, would do more at laſt to undermine the Impoſitions, than the Non-Conformiſts. I foreſaw eaſily what jealouſies, diſpleaſure, ſeverities, impriſonments, &c. would follow the private preaching of the ſilenced Miniſters, and the private meetings of the people: And I knew well that other Miniſters as well as I, would judge it no better than perfidious ſacriledge, to forſake the holy calling to which they were conſecrated and devoted, and to deſert ſo many thouſand needy ſouls: But, above all, I foreſaw, how certainly and ſadly the Churches diviſions would be hereby increaſed, and the Love of each party to the other would be abated, if not deſtroyed: How hard it was for one ſide to Love and Honour the Non-conformiſts, that accounted them Perſecutors and unconſcionable men: And how hard it was for the other ſide to Love and Honour thoſe that they ſuffered by: And how little Reproaches, Fines, and Impriſonments, do uſe to increaſe mens Love to others. I foreknew that one ſide would call the other Rebellious Schiſmatical Phanaticks; and the other ſide

were

were like enough to account them, Perjured Perfidious Perſecutors; and that in the midſt of ſuch thoughts, ſuch words, ſuch uſage, Love was no more like to proſper, than fire in the ſea. And I knew that whatever zeal be pretended for Obedience and Order on one ſide, or for purity of Worſhip on the other, when Love dieth, Religion dieth; and they that are deſtroyers of Love, are deſtroyers of the Church and of Chriſtianity, and of the ſouls of men: and to increaſe *Love* is to *ſave ſouls*.

And I foreſaw that the further they go in this way, the further they will go from God and Godlineſs, from peace and ſafety, and that it will be the longer the worſe, till they retire: For one hard uſage on one ſide, and hard cenſure on the other ſide, after another, will by degrees raiſe men to the height of bitterneſs, and make them think, that their intereſt conſiſteth in the hurt and ruine of each other.

Alſo I foreſaw that while we worried, and weakned one another, as all Sects would grow under the diſcontents of one party, ſo the Papiſts were like to be the principal gainers; And they would be ready to offer their ſervice to ſtrengthen one of the parties againſt the other; and would be glad to take up the reproaches againſt the moſt religious people, that were by angry adverſaries brought unto their hands; And that when we had made our ſelves a Common-ſcorn by our manifold diviſions, and by our biting and devouring one another, they would plead this as our ſhame, to draw people to themſelves, as the only ſtable and conſiſtent Church;

and

and would make us giddy that we might rest on them as our Supporters; and when they saw us weak enough, would be ready to devour us all.

And I easily foresaw how calamitous a thing it would be to the Kingdom, to have most Towns and Parishes set all together by the ears, and for the neighbours to be as *Guelphes* and *Gibellines*, every man employed in censuring and reproaching others, instead of living together in neighbourly and Christian Love.

And I foresaw what an injury this would be to the King, to have the suffering party under these temptations, and wise men made mad, and his people weakned by such sad divisions; whereby their cheerfulness in his Love and service would be abated, and forreign Enemies would be encouraged to attempts against our peace and safety, and if ever they should invade us, it maketh me tremble to think how our divisions would debilitate us, and hazard all our common security and hopes. Yea, how uncomfortable a thing it must needs be to the King, to rule such a divided people, that live in a heart-war among themselves, in comparison of ruling a loving, and concordant sort of men. In a word, I knew that a house or Kingdom divided against it self would not stand: And though I could not make the Bishops *believe me*, I *knew* that *divisions*, *lamentable divisions*, were like to be the consequent, of the things which then I so importunately petitioned and intreated them to forbear: I *knew it*, for I *could not choose but know it*.

And for these reasons I wrote, I pleaded, I earnestly contended with them as I did, while

there appeared *any hope*, as being *loth to have seen the things which I have already seen*, and God knoweth to how much worse we are going, if Grace and Wisdom yet prevent it not. And though I exasperated the sore which I would have cured, and have ever since my self lain under their displeasure, yet I have peace in the testimony of my Conscience, that I did my best, to have prevented our miseries while I had time.

2. And I would give notice to the other party, that whilst I pleaded for their liberty, and against the Imposing of unnecessary things, I took not all the things in question for *unlawful to be done*, which I thought *unlawful to be made necessary to our Communion or Ministration.* All knew that my judgement ever was for the lawfulness of *kneeling* at the Sacrament; (especially since the Rubrick is inserted, which disclaimeth both all Bread Worship and the Bodily real presence.) And we all as is said, thought a *Liturgie lawful*; and when we wrote our Reply to the Answer of our Exceptions, we said these words (which may tell you, whether I change my mind, and what was then our common sense) pag. 3. [*While we took it to be a defective, disorderly and inconvenient Mode of Worship, it would be our sin to use it of choice, while we may prefer a more convenient way, whatever we ought to do in case of necessity, when we must worship God inconveniently, or not at all.*] And pag. 12, 13. [*What if it be only proved unlawful for you to impose it, though not for others to joyn with you when you do impose it? Is this no reason to alter it? Should you not have some care to avoid*

sin

ſin your ſelves, as well as to preſerve others from it? An inconvenient Mode of Worſhip is a ſin in the Impoſer, and in the Chooſer, and Voluntary uſer, that may offer God better, and will not: And yet it may not be only lawful, but a duty to him, that by violence is neceſſitated to offer up that or none.] By this you may ſee what we all thought then of not only hearing, but reading a defective Liturgie in ſuch a caſe. If you ſay, that this was but my own Opinion; I anſwer, Though as they wrote the particular Exceptions without me, ſo I wrote this Defence of them by their appointment, yet it was examined and conſented to by the reſt, who were not men apt to take things on truſt, nor to be impoſed on by ſuch a one as me.

When this Treaty was fruſtrate, and the torrent of diſpleaſure came upon us, (which reached me with the firſt) I ſaw alſo that the ſtorm of mens paſſions and diſcontents would quickly follow: And therefore according to my own judgement and advice to others, I endeavoured to practiſe my ſelf; that is, neither to *forſake my Calling*, or *omit any ſervice* I could do for the Church, nor yet to do it in a *turbulent and unpeaceable, or dividing way.*

For the firſt, I thought *writing* was my greateſt work, which made me not travail abroad to Preach (which alſo weakneſs diſabled me from doing). But yet I never to my remembrance either forbad any from coming to my houſe, nor ever invited any to hear me. I had no Paſtoral Charge in *London*; nor could I live there with my health: My judgement was, that though

so many hundred Ministers were silenced, and too many Congregations had such, as were to us matter of grief, yet the Interest of the Christian Protestant Religion in *England*, must be much kept up, by keeping up as much of Truth, Piety and Reputation as was possible in the Parish Churches. Therefore I never laboured or disputed to make any Minister a Non-conformist, unless he came to me, and by desiring my judgement, made it my duty (Though I oft openly professed, that if I conformed my self to what is required of a Minister, I should take it to be no little or single sin) I remembred the saying of Mr. *Dod*, who *thanked God for the Churches sake, that some conformed, and for the Truths sake, that some conformed not.* I resolved that if I lived where was an intolerable Minister, I would not hear him, nor come near him, so as to encourage him in his sinful undertaking of that Sacred Office: But if I lived under an able, worthy, or tolerable man, I would joyn with him in publick (constantly if I had not *cæteris paribus* the liberty of better, and sometimes if I had) And I would help him by my private labours as well as I could, and live with him in Unity and Peace. Accordingly I constantly joyned in the publick Prayers and hearing at the Parish Church where I lived (having no better that I could go to) and never Preached to my family, but between the times of publick Worship; and the people that came in to me, went with me to the publick Worship.

In all this time many persons importuned me to indeavour that all Non-conformists might agree in one, by what measures to walk as to their Commu-

nion

nion with the Parish Churches, and such other things, for many reasons: And I ever shunned all such attempts; 1. Because it is the way that we have blamed so much in others, to make narrow measures for other mens practices, and unnecessary terms of Brotherly Concord: We must unite as Christians in necessary things; and if one man can, *e.g.* kneel at the Sacrament and another cannot, if one can joyn in Common-prayer, and another cannot; yea, if one can Conform to the Liturgie and Ceremonies, and another cannot, it must not break our unity or peace. 2. Because that Non-conformists are not all of the *same judgement* in every *particular* among themselves: And how can they then agree upon the same *practice* in every point? If they *should*; either the *most scrupulous* must come up to them that think that *lawful* which *they scruple*, or else the *later* must come to the *former*: If *they* yield that think the things *unlawful*, and do as the others do, they shall sin: And then they might as well Conform? And if they that hold more things to be lawful must agree in practice with them that hold the *fewest* lawful, than such must 1. Forsake their own understandings, and live in many sins; and 2. They must be alwayes at an uncertainty in their practice, because some may yet arise, that may count *more* things unlawful; And so the whole party may change their practice every year, as new scruples or errors arise in any; 3. And so the most scrupulous though the most erroneous, must be the Standard and Rule of all the rest. 4. And so we should tempt others still to *new scruples*, and

to make more and more things *sinful*, that so they might obtain the Rule of all. I ever thought therefore that without any combinations, our way is, every man to know the truth as well as he can, and practice accordingly; and live in Love and Peace with those that differ from him in tollerable things. And thus I hope most Non-conformable Ministers do.

In the year 1663 divers learned and reverend Non-conformists of *London* met to Consider how far it was their duty, or lawful to Communicate with the Parish Churches where they lived in the Liturgie and Sacrament: and we agreed the next day to bring in our several judgements in writing with our reasons. Accordingly I brought in mine, in which I proved four propositions, 1. That it is Lawful to use a form of prayer: 2. That it is Lawful to joyn with some Parish Churches in the use of the Liturgie. 3. That it is *lawful* to joyn with some Parish Churches in the Lords supper. 4. That it is to some a *duty* to joyn with some Parish Churches three times a year in the Lords supper. They being long, I read over to them the last only, which being proved (by 20. Reasons) included all the rest. Upon Consideration whereof, no one of the brethren seemed to dissent, but to take the reasons to be valid; save only that *one Objection* stopt them all, to which I also yielded, and we concluded at the present to forbear Sacramental Communion with the Parishes: And that was, because it was a time when great severities were threatned against those that could not so far Conform; and most of the Independents and some

ſome others were againſt it; And our brethren verily believed that if we ſhould then Communicate, thoſe that could not yield ſo far, would be the ſharplier uſed, becauſe they yielded not as far as we. I yielded to them readily, that *God will have Mercy and not Sacrifice*, and even Gods worſhip otherwiſe due, as prayer, or preaching, or ſabbath-keeping may be omitted for an *act of Mercy*, even to pull an Oxe or Aſs out of a pitt. And therefore *pro tempore* I would forbear that ſacrament, which was like to cauſe the impriſonment or undoing of my neighbour.

In mentioning this, theſe three things are my end. 1. To tell the world the judgement of theſe Miniſters; who are misjudged by their actual forbearance of publick Communion, that they take it for a thing unlawful: whereas they are thus accidentally hindered from it (Beſides many other accidents not here to be mentioned, this before named is one.) 2. To ſhew the Prelates who and what it is that hath hindered mens nearer Communion with them; And that while rigor and ſeverity is truſted to as the only means to further it, it proveth the principal means of hindering it. 3. To ſhew the Independents, that we have been ſo far from dealing hardly or uncharitably with them, that we have forborn that Communion, which elſe our own judgements would have charged on us as our duty, either only, or chiefly for fear of being the leaſt occaſion accidentally of their ſufferings: And if yet they are impatient with us for obeying our Conſciences, who can help it

What the reſt did after this conſultation in

their practices, I enquired not: But for my own part on the same argument I forbore Communion with the Parish Churches in the sacrament a long time, till at last I saw that the Reason seemed to me to cease, and I durst not for I knew not what, go against my judgement: But lest it might possibly have any such hurtful consequents, I chose a very private Country Parish to Communicate with, where I sometime sojourned, and where there was neither that, nor any other reason to hinder me: But yet after many years further observation, lest men that know not of my practice, should be scandalized or insnared, to think that I forbore Parish Communion *as unlawful*, and so to do the like themselves, I once chose an *Easter day* to Communicate in a very populous Church in *London*, purposely that it might be the further known: But having some reasons to forbear at the Parish where I lived most constantly, it so far provoked the Parson that —— I may suppose no Independent suffered so much through *my Communicating*, as I have done by forbearing for their sakes.

At last in the year 1667. observing how mens minds grew every day more and more exasperated by their sufferings, and whither all this tended, and what was like to be the issue, I wrote this book called *The Cure of Church-Divisions*; the Reasons whereof I am next to give you. But being not used to publish any thing unlicensed, nor thinking it fit to break the Law of Printing without necessity, nor knowing how to get it Printed unlicensed if I would; I knew that if

I put

I put any thing into it very provokingly, it would not be licenſed, and would fruſtrate all the reſt. And yet my Conſcience told me, that it looked ſo like partiality, to tell one party of their faults, and call them to their duty, and not the other, that I reſolved to ſay as much to the Biſhops and Impoſing Clergy, as ſhould ſignifie my judgement plainly to any intelligent man, and tell them what ſenſe I had of narrowing Impoſitions and Severities, and what is the way of Unity and Peace, though not to cloath it in exaſperating language: And if they would not not licenſe it all together, I purpoſed to caſt it all aſide.

And to confeſs the truth, the deep ſenſe of the ſin and infatuation of this age, hath long made me deſirous to have written one Book, with the Title in dying *Bradfords* words, REPENT O ENGLAND; and that in ſeveral parts, profeſſing firſt, *my own Repentance* in ſeveral Particulars, then calling ſeverally the *Biſhops and Conformable Clergy*, the *Presbyterians*, the *Independents*, and the *Sectaries*, Corporations and Country to Repent. But I knew the *Biſhops* would not endure it, and I could not get it Licenſed or Printed, and I had greater things to write, and many wiſe men whoſe judgements much rule me, diſſwaded me and laughed at my weakneſs, that I ſhould think that ſuch men would regard what I ſaid, or that it would have any better effect than exaſperation! And I long purpoſed not to ſpeak to one ſort, till I might ſpeak to all, to avoid partiality, and evil conſequents.

But at laſt conſidering, that by this rule I might

might never tell any of their ſins, nor preach repentance to them whilſt I lived, and that I muſt not deny my duty and Charity to one ſort, becauſe another ſort will not receive it, and ſeeing alſo neceſſity increaſe, and having already writen and ſaid ſo much to the other party, I reſolved to imitate thoſe two excellent faithful Tractates, viz. 1. Mr. *M. Fool's Vox clamantis in deſerto* in Latine, calling the *Non-conformable Miniſters* to *Repentance*, and Mr. *Lewis Stukeley's* (*a* worthy Congregational Miniſter in *Exeter*, and a kinſman of the late General *Monkes*) enumerating copiouſly moſt of the Common ſins of *Religious Profeſſors*, and calling them earneſtly and faithfully to repentance, which ſince the writing of this, I find excellently done in a book called *Englands danger and only Remedy*.

And therefore I firſt publiſhed ſome old notes written eleven or twelve years ago called *Directions for weak Chriſtians*, and annexed to it *The Character of a ſound Chriſtian*; In both which I wrote that which was as like to have exaſperated the impatient, as *this* book is; And yet I heard of no complaints, And afterward I wrote *this* which I now defend; and ſent it to the Licenſer, who upon peruſal refuſed to Licenſe it; And ſo it lay by, and I purpoſed to meddle with it no more. But leaving it in the Bookſellers hands that had offered it to be Licenſed, after a long time he got it done; and ſo unexpectedly it revived.

The Reaſons of my writing it were no fewer than all theſe following, which I now ſubmit to the judgement of all men truly peaceable and impartial, who value the intereſt of Chriſtianity,

Christianity, and of the universal Church above their own.

1. To make up my foregoing *Directions to weak Christians* more compleat. Having directed them about the private matters of their souls, I intended this as another Part, to Direct them in order to the Churches Peace.

2. Many good people of tender Consciences and weak judgements, desiring my advice about Communion in the publick Assemblies, I found it meetest to publish this general Advice for all, to save me the labour of speaking to particular persons, and to serve those that lived further off.

3. I saw those Principles growing up apace, in this time of provocation, which will certainly increase or continue our *divisions*, if *they* continue and increase. I am sure that our wounds are made by *wounding principles* of *doctrine*; And it must be *healing doctrines* that must *heal* us: And I know that we cannot be healed, till *doctrinal principles* be healed. To give way to the prevalency of *dividing Opinions* is to give up our hopes of future unity and peace. And to give up our hopes of *Unity and Peace*, is to despair of all true *Reformation*, and happiness of the Church on earth. If ever the Church be reduced to that Concord, Strength, and Beauty, which all true Christians do desire, I am past doubt that it must be by such principles, as I have here laid down.

4. But my grand reason was, that I might serve the Church of Christ, in the reviving and preservation of *Christian Love*. As it was an extraordinary measure of the Spirit, which Christ

Christ made his Witness in the Gospel Church; so is it as extraordinary a measure of *Love*, which he maketh the New Commandment, and the mark of all his true Disciples: And whether afflicting on one side, and unmerciful and unjust censures, on the other side, one *driving away*; and the other *flying away*, be either a *sign* or *means* of Love: And whether taking others to be intolerable in the Church, and unworthy of our Communion, and separating from, or avoiding the Worship where they are present, be likely to *kindle* Love, or to *kill* it, let any man judge, that hath himself the exercise of Reason, and unfeigned Love. I know that this is the hour of Temptation to the sufferers, to stir up passion and distaste; and that men have need of more than ordinary grace and watchfulness, and therefore of more than ordinary helps & warning, to preserve due Love, and keep out an undue hatred of those by whom they suffer. And how great a temptation also *their censures* and *discontents* will prove, to their *Superiours*, and others by whom they suffer, and what unspeakable hurt it may do *their Souls*, may easily be conjectured. This *sin* will prove our greatest *loss*.

5. Hereupon men will be engaged in *sinful Actions* of *injustice* and *uncharitableness* against each other. They will be glad to *hear*, and forward to *believe* hard and false reports of one another. And too forward to *vent* such behind one anothers backs: And there is no doubt, but many of each party already think worse of the *other* commonly, than they are: (Though, alas, we are all too bad, and some egregiously wicked.)

wicked.) And thoſe *Perſons* and *Churches* that would cenſure a man for Curſes or Oaths, ſhould alſo cenſure men for *ſlanders* and *backbitings*. And ſhould I not do my beſt, to prevent ſuch a courſe of daily ſin?

6. Both *violence* and *ſeparation* tend to divide the *builders themſelves*, and keep the *Miniſters* in contending with, and Preaching and Writing againſt each other, which ſhould be employed in an unanimous oppoſition to the Kingdom of Satan in the world, And when *all their united wiſdom* and *ſtrength* is too little againſt the common Ignorance and Prophaneneſs of the world, their *diviſion* will diſable them, and give ſin and Satan opportunity to prevail.

7. It may engage them on both ſides in the dreadful ſin of *perſecuting* each other, one party by the *Hand*, and the other by the *Tongue*, (even while they cry out of perſecution:) And on both ſides to hinder the Goſpel and mens ſalvation, on one ſide by hindering the *Preachers* from their *work*, and on the other ſide (yea on both) by hindring the *ſucceſs*. For what can be more done to make men deſpiſe the *word*, than to teach them to deſpiſe or abhor the *Preacher*? And what more can be done to deſtroy mens ſouls, than to harden them againſt the *Word*? Is there any ſober man on either extream, that dare ſay, *I would have none of the people ſaved, that are not, or will not be the bearers of our party*? If you dare not ſay, that you would have all the reſt to be *damned*, dare you ſay, you would not have them be *taught* by others? Or that you would not have them pro-

fit

fit by the Word they hear? If not, how dare you tempt them to vilifie and despise their Teachers? If they will not learn of *you*, be glad if they will learn of *any other*, and do not hinder them.

8. By these means they will cherish an hypocritical sort of Religiousness in the people, which is more employed in Sidings, Opinions and Censurings of others, than in humble self-judging and in a holy heavenly mind and life. A man need not the Spirit of God, and supernatural Grace, nor much Self-denyal, nor Mortification of the flesh, to make him choose a certain *fashion* of external Worship, and think that now he and those that are of that *fashion*, are the only people, and to reproach all of other *fashions*, as ungodly, and to think that he is therefore a better Christian than the other, because his *fashion* of outward Worship seemeth the better to him. Not that *any thing* in Gods Worship should be denyed its due regard; But its pity that by an *unproportionable* estimation of mens several *outward fashions*, *words* and *gestures*, poor souls should be tempted to deceive themselves, and to forget that he is the best Christian that hath most Faith, Humility, Love and Heavenliness, which is the true Holiness, and Beauty of the soul.

9. When men think a *Lawful Communion* (yea, a *duty*) to be *unlawful*; it will both keep them in the sin of *omitting it*, and cause them to add their sinful *Censures* of all those that *use that Communion* which they avoid. They do not only think that they are holier, because they

bear

hear not, and *pray not*, and *communicate not* in the Pariſh Churches, but they look down with a ſupercilious pity upon thoſe that do? And how many parties have I thus been pitied by? As I go along the Streets, the Quakers ſay, *Poor man, thou art in darkneſs.* The Papiſts pity me, for not being one of them: The Anabaptiſts pity me, for not being one of them: The Separatiſts pity or diſdain me, becauſe I forbear not the Worſhip that they forbear: And this Excepter lamenteth my condition as paſſionately as any. It is not for [*Not Worſhipping with them*] that they cenſure me (for I am ready to do it,) but for Worſhipping with *others*, in *Words* which *they* like not. And whereas holineſs was wont to be expreſſed moſt by *Worſhip actions*, now it muſt be characterized more by *Negatives*, even in external adjuncts. And if he be the beſt man that avoideth moſt the Communion of others which he taketh to be bad, I have, and have had, neighbours better than you all, that never communicate with any Church, nor ever publickly hear, or pray, or Worſhip God at all, becauſe they think all your wayes of Worſhip to be bad.

I remember *Rivet* marketh out *Grotius* by this, that while he forſook the Proteſtant Churches, and called us to unite with the Church of *Rome* (that is, *with the Pope ruling not arbitrarily, but by the Laws of a General Council, not excluding that of* Trent) *he* did *actually communicate* with none at all.

10. When mens judgements are thus miſtaken about Church Communion, their Worſhip of God

God will be corrupted : They will in their hearts earneſtly deſire that all others may be of their mind, and they will complain to God of that as a ſin, which is mens duty : Eſpecially among thoſe of their own mind. And this offering up of their miſtakes to God, in earneſtneſs, as an acceptable ſervice, is a ſad polluting of holy things. So he that is famed to have written this Antidote, is ſaid to have made my Book which was written for *Chriſtian Love*, to be the matter of his *publick Humiliation*. And another of my friends, in dayes of prayer, maketh it his lamentation, [*Lord, here are thoſe that are one day here, and another day at Common-prayer* :] As if the exerciſe of *Knowledge and Love*, in impartial Communion with all Chriſts Churches (not forcing us to ſin) were a ſin to be lamented. But I need not go further for inſtance, than this *Antidote*, where the Reverend Author taketh it for a ſervice of God, to write againſt thoſe *neceſſary Precepts* of *Love and Unity*, which he miſtakingly oppoſeth. And ſo did Mr. *Johnſon* and Mr. *Canne*, who moſt confidently preſented their Writings for ſeparation, to God, as a ſervice which he had commanded them, and would own.

11. This narrow judgement tempteth men on one ſide, to Anathematize all that ſay, There are any other true Churches in *England*, ſave of one form and faſhion ; and it tempteth others to deny the Pariſh Churches, to be at all true Churches, and ſo to narrow the poſſeſſions of Chriſt. And hereupon it tempteth them to endeavour to diſgrace and diſſolve each other. It draweth many

many to think, that it is the Intereſt of Religion now in *England*, to have the Pariſh Churches to be brought low in reputation and deſerted, and Gods publick Worſhip, which they would have all Religious people uſe, to be only that of tolerated or more private Churches. By which they little know what they will againſt the intereſt of the Chriſtian and Proteſtant Religion in this Land? Nor what hurt they would do, if in this they had their wills.

12. Theſe dividing Principles and Spirits which I oppoſe, will on one ſide give ſhelter to all the prophane malignant minds, that itch to be afflicting others, that fear God more than they: And on the other ſide, it will give ſhelter to all kind of Hereſies and Sects; of which experience is too full a proof.

13. Yea, before our eyes, the moſt pernicious Hereſies, even thoſe of Quakers, are ſtill not only continued, but increaſe. And we ſee men that to day condemn Communion with the Pariſh Churches, and then with the Presbyterians; do ſhortly fly from Communion with the Independents too. And mens paſſions in ſufferings pervert their judgements; And frequently men are overcome by tryal, when they think they are moſt conſtant and have overcome. Its commonly known how many of late are turned Quakers; And what conſiderable perſons lately in priſon, fell to that unhappy Hereſie. Yet they that by a Priſon loſt their Religion, no doubt thought themſelves more honourable by their ſufferings, than thoſe that go to Common-prayer. And ſhall we ſtand by and ſee this

work go on, and neither lament their ſin, that *drive* men to this, nor warn them of the *Paſſions* and *Principles* that lead to it.

14. Separation will ruine the ſeparated Churches themſelves at laſt, (By ſeparation I mean the *ſame thing that the old Non-conformiſts* wrote againſt by that name) It will admit of no conſiſtency. Parties will ariſe in the ſeparated Churches, and ſeparate again from them, till they are diſſolved. I beſeech my deer brethren that are otherwiſe minded to open their eyes ſo far as to regard experience. Brethren, what now Comparatively are all the ſeparated Churches or parties upon Earth? Would you have all Chriſts Churches, and all the intereſt of the Chriſtian Religion to be as ſhort lived, and to ſtand upon no more certain terms than they do? How few ſeparated Churches do now exiſt, that were in being an hundred years ago? Can you name any? And would you have had all the Churches of Chriſt on Earth, to be diſſolved, when *they* were diſſolved? Or do you think that all *were diſſolved* with *them?* This would make us all ſeekers indeed.

15. Separating and narrow principles befriend not *Godlineſs*, as they pretend to do, but lamentably undermine it? If it were but by driving off and diſaffecting the lower ſort of Chriſtians, whoſe Communion you reject. The Caſe of three or four Churches in *New-England* grieve my heart: But the Caſe of the *Summer* Iſlands as related to me by Mr. *Vaughan*, a worthy Miniſter lately diſcouraged and come from thence, would make a Chriſtian heart to bleed; To hear

hear how ſtrict and regular and hopeful that plantation once was? And how *one Godly Miniſter* by ſeparation, ſelecting a few to be his Church, and rejecting all the reſt from the ſacrament, the *rejected party* are grown to doleful *eſtrangedneſs from Religion*, and the *ſelected party* much *turned Quakers*, and between both, how wofull are the fruits. But the Caſe of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland* (which I foretold in my book of Infant Baptiſme) is yet a more lamentable proof, what ſeparation hath done againſt Religion, ſo *full* a proof, that it is my wonder that any good man can overlook it.

16. Yea it tendeth to make *Religiouſneſs contemptible*, and the profeſſors of it, a common ſcorn, when we are perceived to place it in *unwarrantable ſeparations*, and *ſingularities*, and when we make men think that the greateſt difference between thoſe that they call *Preciſe*, or *Religious*, and *others*, is but this, that one of them prayeth *without book*, and the other by *the book*; that one of them will not joyn with thoſe that uſe the *Liturgie*, and the *other will*. If we let men ſee that in *indifferent* things we are *indifferent*, and that *leſſer* evils we avoid *as leſſer*, and *greater* evils, as *greater*, and that the great difference between us and the ungodly, is in our *ſeriouſneſs* in our *Chriſtian profeſſion*, and in our *heavenlyneſs*, and *true obedience* to Chriſt, it would much convince them of their miſery, and honour Religion in the world: But when they perceive that the greateſt contention which our houſes and our ſtreets do ring of, is whether we ſhall hear a man that *conformeth* or *not*? Or whether we ſhall

pray with them that uſe the *Liturgie?* Or whether we may ſometimes *Communicate* with a *Pariſh Church* or not? This turneth the thoughts of the careleſs and carnal, the worldling and the ſenſualiſt, from the neceſſary condemning of himſelf for his ungodlineſs, and ſets him on thinking, that theſe ſtricter people do differ from him in things of no importance, and that they are but an erroneous ſelf conceited ſort of perſons, and that he is much the wiſer man. Thouſands in *England* are hardened into a neglect of Godlineſs, to our ſuffering and the apparent danger of their own damnation, by occaſion of the unwarrantable ſingularities, and the ſcandalous ſins, eſpecially of thoſe profeſſors, that have been moſt addicted to ſinful ſeparations.

17. I am not cauſelesly afraid leſt, if we ſuffer the principles and practices which I write againſt, to proceed without our contradiction, Popery will get by it, ſo great advantage, as may hazzard us all, and we may loſe that which the ſeveral parties do contend about. Three waies eſpecially Popery will grow out of our diviſions. 1. By the *odium* and ſcorn of our diſagreements, inconſiſtency, and multiplied ſects; they will perſwade people that we muſt either come for Unity to them, or elſe all run mad, and crumble into duſt and individuals. Thouſands have been drawn to Popery or confirmed in it by this argument already: And I am perſwaded that all the arguments elſe in *Bellarmine* and all other books that ever were written, have not done ſo much to make Papiſts in *England*, as the multi-

tude

tude of sects among our selves. Yea some Professors of Religious strictness, of great esteem for Godliness, have turned Papists themselves, when they were giddy and wearied with turnings; and when they had run from sect to sect, and found no consistency in any. For when they see so many, they say, How can I tell that this or that is in the right, rather than the other? This it is that they ring continually in our ears. *Which of all these sects is in the right? And what assurance have they of it more than all the rest that are as confident? And how small a Church doth any one sect make? And of how late original* (for the most.) But the poor deluded souls consider not, that in going to the Papists, they go but to *another sect* that is worse than any of the rest; And though *greater*, yet not past the third part of the Christians in the world: And that *Christianity* is but *one*: And that the way to rest, is to unite upon the common terms of *simple Christianity*.

2. And who knoweth not how fair a game the Papists have to play by the means of our divisions? Methinks I hear them hissing on each party, and saying to one side, *Lay more upon them*, and *and abate them nothing?* and to the other, *stand it out and yield to nothing?* And who is so blind then as not to see their double game and hopes. *viz.* that either our divisions and alienations, will carry men to such distances and practices, as shall make us accounted *seditious, rebellious*, and *dangerous* to the publick peace, and so *they* may pass for *better subjects* than we; or else that when so many parties under suffer-

ings are constrained to beg and wait for *liberty*, the Papists may not be shut out alone, but have *Toleration* with the rest. And shall they use *our hands* to do *their works*, and pull their freedom out of the fire? We have already unspeakably served them, both in this, and in abating the odium of the Gun powder plot, and their other Treasons, Insurrections, and Spanish invasion (of which read *Thuanus* himself that openeth all the mystery.)

3. And it is not the least of our danger (nor which doth least affect me) left by our follies, extremities and rigors, we should so exasperate the Common people, as to make them readier to joyn with the Papists, than with us, in Case of any competitions, or their invasions, or insurrections against the King, and Kingdoms peace. Sure I am that the Parliaments and peoples resolutions against them, after the late fire, and in the time of the last war, when they were so much feared, did discourage and depress them more, than all the rest of their opposers. And though we cannot rationally believe that the people of *England*, much less wise and sober Governors, will ever be such enemies to themselves, as to subject themselves to the Romish Tyranny, and to forget what *Ireland* and *England* have seen and felt, yet because it is not only *oppression that maketh wise men mad*, let us do nothing by unlawful alienations and singularities, or fierce and disobedint oppositions, which tend to make the people like better of the Papists than of us.

18. I am not able to bear the thoughts of separating

parating from almoſt all Chriſts Churches upon Earth. But he that ſeparateth from *one* or *many* upon a reaſon common to almoſt all, doth virtually ſeparate from almoſt all. And he that ſeparateth from all among us upon the account of the unlawfulneſs of our *Liturgie*, and the badneſs of all our Miniſtry, doth ſeparate from them upon a reaſon common to almoſt all, or the far greateſt part, as I conceive.

19. Though *Miniſterial Conformity* be *to us*, another thing (by reaſon of the new impoſitions,) than it was to our predeceſſors yet to the *people* conformite is the ſame, if not eaſier (eſpecially to them that I now ſpeak to:) For it is the Liturgie, Ceremonies and Miniſtry, that moſt alienate them (as I ſaid before, and not ſo much the ſubſcription againſt the obligation of the Covenant.) And the Liturgie is a little amended as to them, by the change of the Tranſlation, and ſome little words, and by ſome longer prayers. And the Ceremonies are the ſame; and thirty years ago there was many bare Reading not Preaching Miniſters, for one that there is now: Therefore our caſe of ſeparation being the ſame with what it was of old, I take it to be fully confuted by the antient Non-conformiſts. And I have ſo great a veneration for the worthy names (much more an eſtimation of the Reaſonings) of Mr. *Cartwright*, *Egerton*, *Hilderſham*, *Dod*, *Ameſius*, *Parker*, *Baines*, *Brightman*, *Ball*, *Bradſhaw*, *Paget*, *Langley*, *Nichols*, *Hering*, and many other ſuch, that I ſhall not think they knew not why they choſe this ſubject, and wrote more againſt ſeparation than the Conformiſts

miſts did. Nor do ¶ think that the reaſons of Mr. *Johnſon* and Mr. *Canne*, can ſtand before them. And it pitieth me, to hear now many that differ from them ſay, *we are grown wiſer and have more light than they!* when as our writings upon the ſame ſubjects ſhew that we are far in that below them? And in other parts of knowledge, alas, what are we to *Reignolds*, *Ames*, *Parker* and ſeveral of the reſt? But the world knoweth, that the turn of the times put moſt of us into the ſudden poſſeſſion of our opinions, without one half of the ſtudy (it may be with moſt, not the hundredth part) which *Cartwright*, *Ames*, *Parker*, &c. beſtowed upon theſe points. And I never yet ſaw cauſe to believe that our preſent Dividers, do learn more in a days ſtudy, than thoſe learned holy men did in twenty. Nor do they ſhew more wiſdom, or holineſs in the main. I am very glad that the Pious Lectures of Mr. *Hildersham*, Mr. *R. Rogers* and ſuch other old Non-conformiſts, are in ſo good eſteem among good people, where they will read them urging the people not only againſt ſeparation, but to come to the very beginning of the publick worſhip, and preferring it before their private duties.

As for them that ſay, If *Dod*, *Ames*, *Hildersham*, &c. had lived till now, they would have been of our mind. I deſire them to prove it, or not affirm it? Is not the Liturgie, Ceremonies, and Miniſtery the ſame? And what ſigns of ſuch mutability did they ſhew? Could your Reaſons have conquered them, more than Mr. *Ainſworths*, *Johnſons*, or *Cannes*? They were not

not ſo Light, to be changed cauſeleſly.

And I pray you mark, that if *you* are wiſer in this point of ſeparation than all theſe old Non-conformiſts were, than *Johnſon*, and *Canne*, and *Howe*, were wiſer alſo in that than they, which doth not appear to us by their writings: And then, for all the greater Light, that you think you have, yet *Johnſon*, *Canne*, and *Howe*, had as great Light, and were in this as wiſe as you, though *Ames*, and the reſt of the Non-conformiſts were not. O that our brethren would but ſeriouſly read over the writings of theſe men, eſpecially *Jacob*, *Paget*, *Ball*, and *Bradſhaw*, and *Gifford* againſt the ſeparatiſts, and try whether the caſe was not the ſame.

2o. Yea I muſt confeſs, that when I think what Learned, Holy, Incomparable men, abundance of the *old Conformiſts* were, my heart riſeth againſt the thoughts of ſeparating from them! If I had come to their Churches, when they uſed the Common-prayer, and adminiſtred the Sacrament, could I have departed and ſaid, It is not lawful for any Chriſtian here to Communicate with you? What! to ſuch men as Mr. *Bolton*, Mr. *Whateley*, Mr. *Fenner*, Mr. *Dent*, Mr. *Crook*, Mr. *Dike*, Mr. *Stocke*, Mr. *Smith*, Dr. *Preſton*, Dr. *Sibbes*, Dr. *Stoughton*, Dr. *Taylor*, and abundance other ſuch? yea ſuch as Biſhop *Jewel*, Biſhop *Grindal*, Biſhop *Hall*, Biſhop *Potter*, Biſhop *Davenant*, Biſhop *Carleton*, &c. Dr. *Field*, Dr. *Smith*, Dr *John White*, Dr. *Willet*, &c. yea and the Martyrs too, as *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, *Hooper* himſelf, *Farrar*, *Bradford*, *Philpot*, *Sanders*, &c. To ſay nothing of *Luther*,

Luther, *Melanchthon*, *Bucer*; and the reſt of the forreign worthies. Could I ſeparate from all theſe on the reaſons now in queſtion? Yea *Calvin* himſelf and the Churches of his way, were all ſeparated from by the ſeparatiſts of their times.

21. At leaſt I cannot eaſily condemn the ancient *Independents*, who were againſt ſeparation as well as the Presbyterians. Mr. *Henry Jacob* is accounted the Father of the Engliſh Independents; And he hath wrote a book againſt Mr. *Johnſon* the ſeparatiſt, of this Title, [A *Defence of the Churches and Miniſtery of* England, *written in two Treatiſes againſt the Reaſons and Objections of* Mr. Francis Johnſon, *and others of the ſeparation, Commonly called Brownists.*] And in the end he hath [*A ſhort Treatiſe concerning the truneſs of a Paſtoral Calling in Paſtors made by Prelates.*] And I intreat the Reader to note that Mr. *Johnſon* there chargeth the Church of *England* and their worſhip, with no fewer than 91. *Antichriſtian abominations.* And I would ask any of the dividers, whether they have more than 91. *Antichriſtian abominations* to charge upon it now. I am content that thoſe I write to now, will caſt by my book, if they will but read Mr. *Jacobs.*

And Dr. *Ames* was *half* an Independent, and yet againſt ſeparation. I need not mention the great moderation of *New-England*, where their late healing endeavors greatly tend to increaſe our hopes of reconciliation? (O that the reſt of the Churches were as wiſe and happy!) Whoſe experience hath poſſeſſed them with a deep diſlike of the ſpirit of ſeparation and diviſion.

Yea

Yea (if any thing may be believed which I have not ſeen) Mr. *Ph. Nie* himſelf hath writen to prove the Lawfulneſs of hearing the Preachers in the Pariſh aſſemblies. And yet it is as confidently confuted by another of the Brethren, as my book is by this Excepter. And he that proveth it Lawful to joyn with them that *profeſs themſelves a Church*, in their ordinary *Doctrine*, and *pulpit prayers*, and *Pſalms* of *praiſe*, I think can never prove it unlawful at all times, to joyn with them in the uſe of the Liturgie, or in the Sacrament (ſuppoſing the ſcruple of Kneeling removed) For the moſt of the Liturgie is the reading of the Scripture it ſelf, and the reſt is ſound matter, though in an imperfect mode and faſhion of words.

22. If ſects and hereſies increaſe among us, the blame of all will be laid upon the Non-conformiſts. And ſo it now is: They commonly ſay, It is you that open the door to them all: And how injuriouſly ſoever this be ſaid, it becometh our duty, not only to ſee that it be not true, but alſo to do our part againſt them. And this was one great reaſon why the old Non-conformiſts wrote and preached ſo much more than the Biſhops againſt ſeparation; becauſe all this ſpurious offspring was fathered on them, and ſtill laid at their doors: And withal becauſe they found how hard it is, to ſtop men that begin to find real faults with other men, from fancying abundance more that are not real; and to keep men from running into extreams: And experience told them, that their own party was in danger of running from them, and it was not eaſie

easie to keep them stable in the sober profession of the truth. Especially the Independents on this account, are obliged to be the greatest dissuaders of separation, because all sects are fathered on them, and too many of their congregations in *England*, and *New-England*, have been lamentably corrupted, or subverted and dissolved by them.

§ 23. There is no man that is acquainted with Church history but knoweth, that as Christ was Crucified between two thieves, so his Church hath been distressed and troubled, between the prophane malignant persecutors, and the heretical and sectarian dividers; even from the dayes of the Apostles until this age. Insomuch that *Paul* himself, and *Peter*, and *Jude*, and *John* were put to write as largely against the Dividers almost as the persecutors. *Irenæus*, *Epiphanius*, *Augustine*, *Theodoret*, besides the rest, do sadly tell us in their Catalogues and Controversies, how lamentably these Dividers then hindered the Gospel, and distressed and dishonoured the Church. And the sad stories of *Holland*, *Munster* and others in *Germany*, *Poland*, and especially these twenty years past in *England*, do bring all closer to our sense. And are not the Watch-men of Christ still bound to tell the Church of their danger on the one side, as well as the other? Yea in some respects to say more on *this* side, than on that, because *Religious* people are easier and ofter turned to be *Dividers*, than to be *Persecutors or Prophane*.

24. All these dangers lying before us, and the Non-conformable Ministers being under great reproaches,

proaches, and lamentable hinderances from their ſacred work, and called by God to fidelity as in a day of tryal, what guilt would be upon us, what ſhame would be our due, if we ſhould all be ſilent whileſt we ſee the principles of Diviſion continually increaſe? The ſame principles which the old Non-conformiſts confuted, greatly propagate themſelves, through the ſmart which alienateth the peoples minds. And Reaſon doth ſo hardly prevail againſt *Feeling*, that all that we can ſay will prove too little. This is the true cauſe why they cry out now, [*Oh the caſe is changed! It is not with us as it was in the old Non-conformiſts daies*;] Becauſe they did but *hear* of what was in thoſe daies, but they *ſee* and *feel* what is done in ours. Therefore we had ſo eaſie a work comparatively to perſwade men that the *old ſeparatiſts* were miſtaken, but can hardly now perſwade them that the *ſame principles* are a miſtake; becauſe *now they ſmart*, and *Paſſion* is not eaſily held in by reaſon. I can make ſhift to hold in a mettleſome horſe, while he is not provoked; But if a Biſhop will come behind me, and laſh him, or prick him, and then blame the rider if he run away with me, I cannot help it. But ſure if we muſt needs have to do with ſuch men, it concerneth us to hold the reines the harder. And if after ſuch grievous judgements, as plagues, flames, poverty, reproach, and ſilencings, and ſad confuſions, which God hath tryed us with in theſe times, his Miniſters ſhould through paſſion, policie or ſloth, ſit ſtill and let Profeſſors run into ſinful principles and extreams, it will be our Aggravated ſin.

25. And

25. And one reaſon why I ſet upon this work was, becauſe I ſaw few others do it. If it *muſt be done*, and *others will not*, then I muſt take it for my duty.

26. And another reaſon was, becauſe I knew but few that I was *willing* to *thruſt* upon it, ſo forwardly as *my ſelf*, for fear of being the author of their *ſufferings*. Many may be *abler*, that are not in other reſpects *ſo fit*. Some Miniſters are young men. and like to live longer to ſerve God in his Church; and their Reputation is needful to their ſucceſs: If they be vilified, it may hinder their labours. And experience telleth us, that the dividing ſpirit is very powerful and victorious in cenſorious vilifying of diſſenters. But I am almoſt *miles Emeritus* at the end of my work, and can reaſonably expect to do but little more in the world; and therefore have not their impediment: And for *popular applauſe*, I have tryed its vanity: I have had ſo much of it, till I am brought to a contempt if not a loathing of it. And whereas ſome brethren, ſay, that *Cenſures will hinder the ſucceſs of my Writings*, I anſwer, No man ſhall do his duty without ſome difficulties and impediments. If my writings will not do good by the evidence of truth in them, and if the cenſures of Dividers are able to fruſtrate them, let them fall and fail. And ſome of my brethren have great Congregations to teach, which are ſo inclined to this dividing way, that they cannot bear their information. But when I preached in my houſe to the moſt, I knew ſcarce any of the Pariſh that came not to the Pariſh Church, but ſuch as lived in my own houſe.

houſe. Alſo many Miniſters being turned out of all their maintenance, have families and nothing to maintain them, but what the Charity of Religious people giveth them. (Little do ſome know what the families of many godly Miniſters ſuffer!) And ſome Independents are maintained by their gathered Churches, and if they caſt them off, both reputation, work and maintenance would fail (For thoſe that ſilence them will neither honor them, nor maintain them). And though I ſuppoſe that theſe brethren would ſerve God in the greateſt contempt and poverty, and ſelf-denial, if they perceive that God doth call them to it, yet I think it a duty of Charity in me, to go before them, and do the more diſpleaſing work, to prevent the ſufferings of ſuch, or at leaſt, not to thruſt them on ſo hard a ſervice. For I have no Church that maintaineth me, nor any people whoſe eſtimation I am afraid to loſe, that are dividingly inclined, nor (through Gods mercy) have any need of maintenance from others, and therefore may do my duty at cheaper rates than they.

27. And I will add one reaſon more of the publiſhing, though not of the writing of my book. When it had been long caſt by, I found in the *Debater*, and *Eccleſiaſtical Politician* that the *Nonconformiſts* are made ridiculous and odious, as men of erroneous, uncharitable, and ungovernable principles and ſpirits (Though we ſubſcribe to all the Doctrine of the Church of *England*) And I thought that the publication of this book, ſhould leave a teſtimony to the generations to come, by which they might know whether

whether we were truly accuſed, and whether our principles were not as much for Love and Peace as theirs, and as conſiſtent with order and government.

Is not the Non-conformiſts doctrine the ſame with that of the Church of *England*, when they ſubcribe to it, or offer ſo to do? Did not his Majeſty in his Declaration about Eccleſiaſtical affairs, complain of them (Dr. *Burges* I ſuppoſe) who pretended a difference between us in doctrine? If they ſay that the Non-conformiſts are to be denominated from the Major part, I anſwer, we provoke the wiſlingeſt of their adverſaries to prove, that either the Major part, or any thing near it, is of more erroneous doctrinal principles than themſelves? The Independents as well as the Presbyterians offer to ſubſcribe to the doctrine of the 39. Articles, as diſtinct from Prelacy and Ceremony. And I muſt witneſs that when I was in the Country, I knew not of one Miniſter of ten that are now ſilenced, that was not in the main (as far as I could diſcern) of the ſame principles with my ſelf. And though any Reproacher will blindly injure the Non-conformiſts, who ſhall judge of them throughout *England* and *Scotland* by the many parties in *London*, where a great number of differing opinions alwaies inhabited; Yet I may add that even in *London*, the burning of the Churches, and the notorious neceſſity of many thouſand ſouls, and the Acts which puniſh them by ſix moneths impriſonment, if they come within five miles of a Corporation, (and therefore make them think it neceſſary to keep out of the Pariſh Churches, where

where they *may* prefently be both accuſed and apprehended) doth make the Practice of many very humble, godly, peaceable, and moderate men (by Preaching at the time of publick worſhip, when their hearers cannot well come at another time) to be ſuch as cauſeth men to miſtake their principles.

But Satan maligning the *juſt vindication* of the *Non-conformiſts* againſt theſe accuſations, hath by falſe ſuggeſtions ſtirred up ſome, who differ from the reſt as well as we, to clamour againſt this Book, which was publiſhed for the clearing of the innocent: And now they have diſclaimed it, they have renounced *their own part* in thoſe peaceable Principles which they diſown, and in *this Vindication*; But I muſt deſire the next Accuſer, to charge this Renunciation upon none but thoſe that he can prove to be guilty of it, and not on the *Non-conformiſts*. And the rather becauſe (*by a ſelf confutation*) they have ſhewed themſelves, that the *old Non-conformiſts* were more ſober and peaceable; And I can aſſure them, that the moſt of the Non-conformiſts Miniſters of my acquaintance, are not a jot more rigorous or farther from them, than the *old Non-conformiſts* were. And that thoſe that treated with the Biſhops in 1660. did yield to ſuch an Epiſcopacy, as the *old Non-conformiſts* would ſcarcely have generally conſented to (viz. Biſhop *Ushers* model in his Reduction.)

If the Accuſers of the Non-conformiſts ſhall ſay, [*By the cenſure of your Book and Perſon you ſee what Non-conformiſts are, that will joyn in re-*

ceiving and venting false reports, even of their brethren, before they saw or heard one line of the book.] I Answer to such: 1. Call not that the act of the Non-conformists, which some of *one party* of them are drawn to by misinformation. 2. There were so *great persons* and so *many* of the *Conformists* concurred in the report, that you may well be silent as to *Parties*, and say that *Iliacos intra muros*, &c. We are all to blame. 3. It cannot be denyed, that among all parties in *England*, there are so many that take up false reports, and think it no sin if they did but hear it from *credible persons*, and hereby are Satans instruments to vend false defamations, that it is become the shame and crime of the land; and many strict Professors (excepting the graver and soberer sort) are too commonly guilty of it, though not so much as others. I will not deny but humane converse requireth some credulity: But if men medled not with other mens matters without a call, and withall did Love their neighbours as themselves, and were as tender Conscienced as they ought to be, and knew how little before God it will excuse a Lie or Slander to say, [I heard it of such an honest man, or I said but what I heard of many,] it would prevent a great deal of sin.

And that it may appear I am impartial, and defend not those faults in the Religious sort, which they must repent of, I will intreat you to note from this one instance, these following obvious observations.

1. Note by this instance what an *inequality* there

there may be in the *tenderneſs of mens Conſciences* towards meer *words* and *formes* of worſhip, and towards the ſins which nature it ſelf condemneth, if they ſtudy not well the wiles of Satan; when the City and Country ſhall have the ſame men that are tender Conſcienced (which I commend) about a Ceremony or the *faſhion* of their prayers, without any ſcruple or remorſe thus receive and publiſh a ſlander or falſhood, (that I *wrote againſt private meetings*, and *for Conformity*, and that *I Conformed*) and this before they had *ever ſeen* or *ſpoken* with one man living that had ſeen one line of the book, or could report it to them with the leaſt pretenſe of knowledge. Yea and all this againſt one that had given an *opener teſtimony* againſt Conformity, *than any one man* of all them that thus ſlandered him, as far as ever I was able to know.

2. Note here what I have told you in the book, the great difference between a *formal* dividing zeal for opinions, and a Chriſtian zeal of Love and Heavenlineſs and good workes. If you would kindle this latter in your own or others hearts, alas, what holy labour doth it require? How many lively Sermons are all too little to kindle the leaſt flame of Loving, heavenly fruitful zeal! How many meditations and prayers are uſed before any holy flame appeareth? But a zeal for our *Party* and our *opinions*, and our ſeveral *formes* and *faſhions* of ſpeaking to God, will kindle and flame like the fire that conſumed London. A ſparke from one diſcontented perſons mouth will ſuddenly take,

and engage multitudes in City and Country in the affectionate ſpreading of untruths; and who can quench it till it go out of it ſelf for want of fewel?

3. Note alſo the great Partiality of multitudes of Religious people, and how eaſily we can aggravate the faults of *others*, and how hardly we can either *aggravate* or *ſee our own!* The defects of the Liturgie, and the faults of thoſe by whom we *ſuffer*, are eaſily heightned, even beyond deſert. But when many of us vend untruths, and ſlanders againſt our brethren about the land; who aggravateth this or repenteth of it?

4. But above all I intreate the Dividing Brethren, if they can ſo long lay by their partiality, to judge by this of the *Reaſons* of their *Separation* from thoſe Churches (Private or Parochial) that they differ from, in tolerable things. You *think* it a ſin to Communicate in a Church where the *Liturgie* is uſed, and *Diſcipline* is not ſo ſtrictly exerciſed againſt ſome offenders, as you and I deſire. But ſuch *publicke multiplyed untruths* in mens mouths, doth never make you ſcruple *their* Communion. I intreat you do but ſtudy an anſwer to one that would *ſeparate from you all*, upon ſuch grounds as theſe. Firſt for the ſin, conſider of theſe texts, Exod. 23. 1, 2. *Thou ſhalt not raiſe a falſe report: put not thy hand with the wicked to be an unrighteous witneſs. Thou ſhalt not follow a multitude to do evil; neither ſhalt thou ſpeak*

speak in a cause to decline after many to wrest it. Psalm 15. 3. *He that backbiteth not with his tongue, nor doth evil to his neighbour, nor taketh up a reproach against his neighbour.* Rom. 1. 30. *Backbiters, haters of God,* 2 Cor. 12. 20. *Lest there be debate, strifes, backbitings, whisperings,* &c. Prov. 25. 23. *An angry countenance driveth away a backbiting tongue:* Tit. 3. 1, 2. *Put them in mind to be ready to every good work; to speak evil of no man.* 1 Pet. 2. 1. *Laying aside evil speakings* —— 1 Tim. 6. 4. *Whereof cometh evil surmisings,* Eph. 4. 31. *Let evil speakings be put away from you.* Jud. 10. *These speak evil of those things which they know not.* Jam. 4. 11. *Speak not evil one of another; He that speaketh evil of another and judgeth another, speaketh evil of the Law, and judgeth the Law.*

Have you more and plainer texts of Scripture against the *Common Prayer* than all these are? Now suppose one should say that a people of such sin as this should not be Communicated with, especially where there is no discipline exercised that ever so much as calleth one man of them to repentance for it: what answer will you give to this, which will not confute your own objections, against Communion with many Parish Churches in this Land.

5. Lastly hence note, how still *overdoing* is *undoing*. By the Principles of Love and Peace conteined in the book which some reproach, had they not disowned them, they might

have had their part in this *juſt Vindication*, againſt them that accuſe the Non-conformiſts Principles of *Enmity to Love and Peace*: But they *would have no part in it*, and have caſt away their *own vindication*, and ſo have confirmed their accuſers, and tempted them to believe that ſome *Non-conformiſts* are indeed ſuch as they deſcribed:

But I muſt again intreat them to diſtinguiſh: Many ſects go under the name of *Non-conformiſts*, from whom we differ incomparably more than we do from the *Conformiſts*; as the Quakers, Seekers Behmeniſts, and ſome others. We are none of thoſe men that, becauſe we all ſuffer together under the Prelacy, do therefore more cloſe with theſe, than with the Conformiſts, with whom in doctrine and the ſubſtance of worſhip, we agree.

But becauſe it is their *own reſolved choice*, to *diſown the Principles and Vindication* of that *book*, I ſhall only ſay,

I. To our Accuſers [*It is not theſe Dividers which we Vindicate, that will not ſtand to our Vindication*].

II. To poſterity (whoſe hiſtorical Information of the truth of matters in this age I much deſire,) [*If you would know what ſort of men they are, that theſe times call ſectaries and Dividers or ſeparatiſts, I will give you but their own Character of themſelves, that you may be ſure*

ſure I wrong them not : Peruſe the book called, The Cure of Church-Diviſions; for they are perſons ſo contrary to that book, as that they take it to be an evil and miſchievous thing, and greatly to be lamented and deteſted : in ſo much that ſome of them ſay, It had been well if the Author had dyed ten years ago, and others, that this book hath done more harm than ever he did good in all his life. So intolerable is it to them, to have their Love-killing and dividing principles ſo much as thus contradicted, while they cry out againſt the Impoſing ſpirit of others. The *meaſure* of their diſtaſte againſt theſe Principles of Love and Unity, I leave you to gather out of the exceptions which I am now to anſwer.

CAP. 2.

The true ſtate of the Controverſie, between me, and thoſe whom I call Church-Dividers.

BEcauſe the Excepter carrieth it all along, as if he underſtood not what I ſay, or would not have his Reader underſtand it, I muſt ſtate the Caſe as it ſtandeth between us, for the ſake of them that love not to be deceived, nor to be angry at they know not what.

Know therefore that the *deſign* of the Writer of that Book was, to *reſtore Love* and *Unity among Chriſtians*, which he ſaw decaying and almoſt dying through the temptation of *our ſufferings from ſome*, and *our differences with others*, and through the ſidings of *parties*, and through the *paſſions* which conquer ſome mens judgements, and the *hypocriſie* of others, who place their Religion in their *ſidings*, and in the *forms* or *faſhions* of the words of their prayers, or the circumſtances of outward Worſhip: And to acquaint Chriſtians with the wiles of Satan, who would *kill their Grace*, by killing their *Love*, whilſt they think they do but preſerve their *Purity*. And to open to them the ſecret windings of the Serpent, and the workings of Pride,

Pride, and Wrath, and Selfishness, against the works of *Love* and *Peace*: And to shew them the great deceitfulness of mans heart, which often fighteth against God as for God, by fighting against Love and Unity; and which oft loseth all, by seeming to overcome, and forsaketh Religion by seeming valiant for it;) And I especially intreat the Reader to note, that I said much more about *Principles*, than *Practices*; Because I know that as to Communion with this or that Church, mens practices may vary upon accidental and prudential accounts, of which I pretend not to be a Judge: And therefore I first speak against Love killing Principles, and then against such Practices only, as either proceed from such Principles, or increase them. If I see a man stay from Church, as I know not his reasons, so I judge him not; unless as he doth it upon sinful causes, and especially if he would propagate those Causes to others, and justifie them to be of God, when they are against him.

And whereas *Hatred and Enmity* worketh by driving men from each others Societies, as *wicked* or *intolerable*, and *Love* worketh by inclining men to *Union* and *Communion*; and again, mens *distance* increaseth the *Enmity* which caused it; and their *nearness* and *familiarity* increaseth *Love*, and reconcileth them; I did therefore think it a matter of great necessity to our welfare, to counsel men to all *lawful nearness* and *Communion*, and to disswade them from all *unnecessary alienation* and *separation* from each other.

Let

Let the Reader also understand, that in this, my purpose was not to condemn mens separation from the *Parish Churches only*, nor *more* than *any other sinful separation*: But from *any true Church* of Christians whatsoever; when uncharitable Principles drive them away, Whether it be from Presbyterians, Independents, Anabaptists, Arminians, Lutherans, &c. Only because that those I deal most with, make most exceptions against Communion with the *Parish Churches*, I bestowed *most words* in answering such exceptions.

Therefore observe 1. That it is none of our Question, [*Whether you should Communicate with the Parish Churches alone, and no other?*

2. Nor [*Whether you should Communicate with every Parish Church, or any one whose Pastors are through insufficiency, heresie or impiety intolerable?* which I have written against *Dir.* 36. *p.*202,&c.

3. Nor [*Whether we may hold local Communion in Worship with a Church which denyeth us such Communion, unless we will sin*: This I have oft enough denyed, *p.* 203,&c.

4. Nor [*Whether* cæteris paribus *local Communion with a purer and better Church, be not ordinarily to be preferred before local Communion with a worse?* (which I assert, p. 203,&c.)

5. Nor [*Whether a man be a Separatist from another Church, meerly because he is not locally present with it?* (For then when I am in one Church, I separate from all other in the world?)

6. Nor [*Whether it be lawful to remove ones dwelling,*

dwelling, for Communion with a better Minister and Church, supposing that we are free? p. 204.

7. Nor [*Whether it be lawful to remove to a better Church, without removing ones dwelling, in a place where another Church is near, to which we may go without any publick injury, or hurt to our selves or others, which is greater than the benefit*, pag. 204.

8. Nor [*Whether we may remove both from Church and Country, by the occasions of our Callings or Trades, or other outward weighty reasons?* pag. 298.

9. Nor [*Whether we may keep in Communion privately with our lawful Pastors, if they be turned out of the publick Temples?*] Which I have asserted, *pag.* 299. and have said, that *where the Pastor is, there the Church is, in whatever place they do assemble*, p. 250. (which Dr. *Hide* also thought, when he began his Book with an assertion of the necessity of separating then from the publick places. And so did other Prelatists then, and so think the Papists now, and most other parties.)

10. Nor is it any of our Question, [*Whether you should have Communion with a Diocesan Church, as such*; (It is a Parochial Church with such others that I spake of, and never a word of a Diocesan Church.)

11. Therefore it is none of the Question [*Whether you must own our Diocesan Bishops?*]

12. Nor yet [*Whether you must have Communion with any thing called, A National Church, as a Political Society constituted of an Ecclesiastical Head*

Head and Body, and denominated from that form, or Constitutive Head? Though we must own a *National Church*, as it is *improperly* so denominated, from the *King* that is the *Civil Head* (*accidental*, and not *Constitutive* to the Spiritual Church.) And as it is a *Community of Christians*, and a *part of the Universal Church*, united by the *Concord* of her Pastors; who in Synods may *represent the whole Ministry*, and be the means of their *agreement*.

13. Nor is it the Question, [*Whether you must needs hold Communion with those individual Bishops, whom you account the Persecutors, and Causes of our silence and confusions.* I have told you in the Story of *Martin*, how he separated from the *Synods* of those *individual Bishops*, and from their *local Communion*, without *separating* from the *Office*, the *Churches*, or from *any other Bishops*. This is a matter that I did not meddle with, because it is not *their Communion* that you are called to, but the Parish Churches.

Indeed to save mens lives, he did yield to the Emperour once to communicate with them; But (saith *Sulp. Severus Dial. 3. p. Bib. Pat.* 254.) *Summi viri Episcopis nitentibus, ut communionem illam subscriptione firmaret, extorqueri non potuit.* And the Angel that appeared to him said [*Meritò Martine compungeris; sed aliter exire nequisti: repara virtutem, resume Constantiam, ne jam non periculum gloriæ sed salutis incurreris. Ita; ab illo tempore satis cavit, cum illa Ithacianæ partis Communione misceri.* And after finding his power of Miracles abated, with tears he confessed

fessed to *Sulpit.* That *propter Communionis illius malum, cui se vel puncto temporis, necessitate, non Spiritu miscuisset, detrimentum sentire virtutis. Sedecim postea vixit annos, nullam Synodum adiit, ab omnibus Episcoporum Conventibus se removit.* But this was only from those Bishops who by provoking Magistrates against the *Priscillian Gnosticks*, had brought all strict Religious people under scorn. But he separated not from any others.

14. Nay, I made it none of our Question, [*Whether you should Communicate, with any Parish Minister, who concurreth with them in the said matters which you excuse the Bishops of, any further than by Conforming to the Law.* For it is but few of the *Parish Ministers* that were *Convocation Men*, or that you can prove did ever consent to our silencing.

15. Nor is it any of the Question, [*Whether those also be guilty of separation and divisions, who shall make unnecessary Engines of division, and lay upon the necks of any Churches such unnecessary things as have a tendency to divide.*] Who hath said more against this, than I have done?

16. Nor is it any of our Question, [*Which of the two is the greater cause of divisions, or which of the foresaid persons is most culpable?*] Who hath spoken plainlier in this, than I? If the Brother that excepteth would make you believe, that any one of these is the Controversie, if you believe him, he doth but deceive you.

But whom I mean by Separatists, I have plainly told you, *pag.* 249. 250. &c.

And

☞ And that which I perſwade men to, is this: 1. *To love all Chriſtians as themſelves.*

2. *To hold nothing, and do nothing which is contrary to this Love, and would deſtroy it.*

3. Therefore *to deny no Chriſtians to be Chriſtians, nor no Churches to be Churches, nor no lawful Worſhip of any Mode or Party to be lawfull.*

4. *Not to ſeparate from any others upon any of theſe three falſe ſuppoſitions or accuſations,* (viz. 1. *As no true Chriſtians:* 2. *As no true Churches:* 3. *As having no true Worſhip, or as worſhipping, ſo as it is not lawful to joyn with them.*).

5. *To chooſe the moſt edifying Miniſtry, and the ſoundeſt Church, and pureſt manner of worſhipping God,* that poſſibly you can have on *lawful terms,* as to your ordinary uſe and Communion, ſo far as you are free to chooſe.

6. *To joyn with a defective faulty true Church, ordinarily, and in a manner of Worſhip which is defective, when you can have no better, on lawful terms,* (as without the publick injury, or your own greater hinderance than help.) And I prove, that this is the worſt that you can charge (as to this matter of Communion) on thoſe Pariſh Churches in *England,* that have honeſt competent Paſtors; and the ſame others charge on the Churches of Independents and Anabaptiſts. And that it is a duty to hold communion with any one of theſe conſtantly when you can have no better.

7. *That if you can ſtatedly have better; yet ſometimes to Communicate with a defective Church, as a ſtranger may do, that is not intereſſed in their diſcipline,*

discipline, or is no stated member, is not only lawful, but, for the ends sake, is a duty, when our never communicating with them is scandalous, and offensive to our Rulers, and tendeth to make people think that we hold that to be unlawful which we do not, and when our actual Communion is apt and needful to shew our judgement, and to cherish love and Christian Concord. On which account, as I would *statedly* communicate with the Greek Church, if I were among them, and had *no better*; and would *sometimes* communicate with them in their Prayers and Sacraments, if I did but pass through the Countrey as a *stranger*, or if I *could have better*; even so would I do with a *Parish Church*, if as faulty as you can justly charge it (with the foresaid limitations) or with a Church of Anabaptists or Independents, (if they did not use their meetings to destroy either *Piety* or *Love*.)

This is my judgement; This is the summ of all that I plead for, as to Communion. If the Excepter deny not this, he talketh not at all to me.

If any that have passionately reviled my Book and me, do say, We thought you had gone further, and pleaded for more: I answer them, that we should not speak untruths; and revile things before we understand them, and then come off with [*I thought you had said more.*] It is this with other *Love-killing* distempers that I strive to Cure.

And again I tell you, that it is, 1. Ignorance: 2. Pride, or overvaluing our own nnderstandings:

3 And

3. And Uncharitableneſs generated of theſe two, which is the Cauſe of our CRUELTIES and our unlawful SEPARATIONS, and which breed and feed our threatning Diviſions, among the parties on both extreams. And its the death of theſe three that muſt be our Cure.

CAP. 3.

Some Objections (or Queſtions) about Separation anſwered.

AS to that party who think Anabaptiſts and Independents unfit for their communion, I am not now dealing with them; and therefore am not to anſwer their Objections. Only on the by I ſhall here mind them; 1. That it is not ſuch as the old *German* Anabaptiſts, who denyed Magiſtracy to Chriſtians, &c. that I ſpeak of; But ſuch as only deny Infant Baptiſm: And that many of them, are truly Godly ſober men; and therefore capable of communion. And that the ancient Churches left it to mens liberty at what time they would have their Children baptized.

2. That many Independents are downright againſt Separation; Mr. *Jacob* hath notably written againſt it. Therefore thoſe that are but *meer Independents*, refuſe not communion with the Pariſh Churches: And why ſhould *you* refuſe communion with *them?*

3. That many that ſeparate, *ſecundum quid*, or

pro

pro tempore, from some part of Worship only and for a season, yet separate not *simply* from the Churches as *no Churches*, nor would do all as they do, in other circumstances. For instance, when they come not to the publick Assemblies, yet they will not *refuse you*, if you will come to *theirs*. Go to *their meetings*, and see if they so far separate, as to forbid you? Nor perhaps to their *Sacraments*, if you will submit to *their way*, as you expect they should do *by yours*. Now seeing we are all agreed, that the Magistrate doth not make Ministers, Churches (or Sacraments,) but only encourage, protect and rule them, I desire you but to be so impartial as to consider that 1. You count not your selves *Separatists*, because you never go to one of *their Meetings* in *their houses* or other places; Why then should you call *them Separatists*, only for not coming to *yours*? 2. But if they are guilty of Separation for holding either that *your Churches and Ministry are Null*, or that *Communion* with you is unlawful by Gods Law, enquire how far *you also* are Separatists, if you say the same without proof by any others, (Though their lawfulness by the Law of the Land, I justifie not, no nor the regularity of their Church Assemblies.)

4. And I would here note how *partial* most men are. They that think an *Independent* or *Anabaptist*, yea, or a *Presbyterian* intolerable at home in their *several Churches*, yet if they would but come to *their communion*, they would receive them as tolerable members. And they that think it unlawful to hold communion with

the *Prelatists*, and give the reason partly from their *unfitness*, yet would receive them (in many Churches) if they did but change their Opinions, and desire communion with them in their way.

But it is those that judge Parish communion (where there are godly Ministers) unlawful, that I am here to speak to. And their principal doubts are such as many good and sober persons need an answer to.

QUEST. I.

Quest. 1. *Doth not the second Commandment, and Gods oft expressed jealousie in the matters of his Worship, make it a sin to communicate in the Liturgie?*

Answ 1. The meaning of the second Commandment (mistaken by many) is *directly* to forbid *Corporal* or *Interpretative Idolatry*, and *worshipping God by Images*, as if he were *like a Creature*: And *scandalously symbolizing with the Idolaters*, or Worshippers of false Gods, by doing that which in outward appearance is the *Worshipping of a false God*, though the mind be pretended to be kept free. Now the Worshipping of the *true God* in the *words of the Liturgie*, hath none of this; nor will any but a sinful Censurer think that it is the worshipping of a *false God*.

I desire the Reader to see the most judicious moderate Exposition of the second Commandment (as of all the rest) in Mr. George Lawson's Theopolitica.

Nor is every use of the same *places*, *words*, or other

other things *indifferent*, a *ſymbolizing* with Idolatry: But the ſaying thoſe words, or the uſing thoſe Acts or Ceremonies, by which their falſe Religion *in ſpecie* is notified, as by a *teſſera*, or *badge* to the world. Or uſing the *Symbols* of *their Religion* as differing from the *true*. Even as the uſe of *Baptiſm*, and the *Lords Supper*, the *Creed*, and the conſtant uſe of our *Church-Worſhip*, are the *Symbols* of the *Chriſtian Religion*. So their *Sacraments*, *Incenſe*, *Sacrificings*, and *Worſhipping Conventions*, were the Symbols of Worſhipping *falſe Gods*; which therefore Chriſtians may not uſe.

But they that ſay, that *all falſe Worſhip* of the *true God* is *Idolatry*, add to Gods word, and teach doctrines which are but the forgeries of their own brain. Though more than Idolatry be forbidden by *Conſequence* in the ſecond Commandment, that proveth it not to be *Idolatry*, becauſe its *there ſo forbidden*.

2. I have after diſtinguiſhed of *falſe Worſhip*, and told you, that if by *falſe*, you mean *forbidden*, or *not commanded*, or *ſinful*, we all worſhip God *falſly* in the *Manner* every day, and in ſome part of the *matter* very oft. Our diſorders, confuſion, tautologies, unfit expreſſions, are all forbidden, and ſo falſe worſhip: And if God prohibit any diſorder which is in the Liturgie, he prohibits the ſame in *extemporate prayers* (in which ſome good Chriſtians are as failing as the Liturgie) And as the *words* of the *Liturgie* are not commanded in the Scripture, ſo neither are the *words* of our *extemporate or ſtudied Sermons* or *Prayers*.

3. God hateth every ſin in every prayer; but he hateth the *avoiding of prayer*, and of *due communion* much more. He hateth every diſorder in *extemporate* prayer; And yet he more hateth that Cenſoriouſneſs and Curioſity, which would draw men to forſake the ſubſtantials of Worſhip, or Chriſtian Love and Communion on that pretence.

Gods Jealouſie in his Worſhip is moſt about the heart, and next about the ſubſtantials of his own inſtitutions, and of Natural Worſhip, and leaſt about the phraſe of Speech and order, while it is not ſuch, as is groſly diſhonourable to the Nature of God, and to the greater things. And though God under the Law expreſſed his jealouſie much about Ceremonies, yet that was not for the Ceremonies ſake, but to controll groſs irreverence and contempt of holy things (as in the Caſe of *Uzzah*, the *Bethſhemites*, *Uzziah*, *Aarons* Sons) and to keep up an eſteem of the Holineſs of God, and to reſtrain ſacrilegious preſumption. And under the Goſpel, it is neither *this place* of Worſhip, nor that, neither this Mountain, nor *Jeruſalem*, but *Spirit* and *Truth* that God moſt looks at. It is not whether you pray by a Book, or without, by words fore-ſtudied or not, by words of your own contriving, or of anothers, that God is now jealous of. For even when you want words, he accepteth the groans excited by his Spirit, *Rom.* 8. 26, 27.

If Chriſtians ſhould plead Gods jealouſie about his Worſhip; as Cenſoriouſly againſt their *own prayers*, as they do againſt *other mens*, and Churches

Churches in this caſe, they would turn prayer into the fuel of deſpair and torment. For God is ſo jealous of his Worſhip, that he hateth all the ſinful dulneſs, emptineſs, wandrings, vain repetitions, confuſions, unſeemly expreſſions, of all your ſecret prayers, and all your family prayers. And yet I would adviſe you neither to think that God therefore hateth you, or the prayer it ſelf, nor yet to fly from God and prayer, nor family Worſhip, where it is no better done, Gods jealouſie, eſpecially under the Goſpel, is to be minded for to drive us from our ſloth and careleſneſs, to do the beſt we can, but not to drive us *from him*, or *from prayer*, or *from one another*. Theſe are *Satans ends* of minding men of *Gods jealouſie*, as he doth troubled ſouls to drive them to deſpair.

And others may ſcruple joining with *your weakneſſes* and *faults* in Worſhip on pretence of Gods jealouſie, as well as *you* with *theirs*. What if twenty Miniſters be one abler than another, in their ſeveral degrees (and the loweſt of them doth weaklier than the Liturgick forms.) Doth it follow, that only the ableſt of all theſe may be joyned with, becauſe that all the reſt do worſe? It is granted that we muſt offer God the *beſt*, that we *have* or *can do*. But not the beſt which we *cannot do?* And many things muſt concurr (and eſpecially a reſpect to the publick good), to know which is the beſt.

QUEST. II.

Quest. 2. *Doth not the Covenant make it now unlawful, to hold Communion in the use of the Liturgie?*

Answ. To hold Communion in the Liturgie *Ordinarily* where we cannot lawfully have better, and *extraordinarily* where we *can* have better, is a thing that we are bound to by the Covenant, and not at all bound against.

For those of the Independent way who think as Mr. *Eaton* writeth that the Covenant bindeth not, I need not here say any thing as to their satisfaction. For others I say, 1. There is no word in all the Covenant expresly against *the Liturgie.*

2. If there had been any word in it against *Communion with the Churches that use the Liturgie*, it had been *sin*, and against our duty, and therefore could not bind.

3. The judgement of Protestants is, that Vowes must not make us new duties of Religion but bind us faster by a self obligation, to that which God binds us to without them. Therefore (though if we should Vow an indifferent thing, it would bind, yet) this could not be taken for the *Covenanters intention.*

4. And it is commonly agreed, that if we Vow a *thing indifferent*, it bindeth us not when the *indifferency ceaseth*; which may be by the *Magistrates command*, or by *another mans necessity*, or *change*

change of Cases: Else a man might before hand prevent most of the Magistrates obligations, and his Parents and Masters too, and escape obedience; and might say with the Pharisees, it is Corban, or a devoted thing.

5. It remaineth therefore that no man of us all hath need to go, or ought to go to the Covenant to know *what is his duty* in the worship of God, but only to the *Scripture*; seeing if *Scripture* make it not a *duty*, the Magistrates Law will make the doing of it a *sin*; And if *Scripture* make it not a *sin*, the Magistrates command will make it a *duty*. But when we *know* what is duty or sin (in our case) we may go to our Vows next to prove that it is a *double duty* or a *double* or aggravated sin but no otherwise. Therefore let the *Scripture* only decide the first case, whether it be lawful or not.

6. The Covenant or Vow expressly bindeth us against *schisme*. But the renunciation of Communion which I now dispute against, is plaine schisme; Therefore we are bound against it by that Vow.

7. The Covenant bindeth us against all that is contrary to the power of Godliness, and sound doctrine. But the separating which I plead against is certainly such.

8. The Covenant bindeth us to Unity and the neareſt Uniformity we can attain. But as the world goeth now, this Communion is the neareſt, and needful to expreſs our Unity.

9. The Covenant bindeth us to Reformation according to Gods word, and the example of the beſt reformed Churches: But to prefer *no publick*

worſhip or a *worſe*, before the *Liturgie*, is *deformation* and *prophaneneſs*, And it is *greater Reformation* to prefer the *Liturgie* before *none*, than to prefer *extemporate* publick worſhip before the Liturgie. And all the Reformed Churches in Chriſtendom, do commonly profeſs to hold Communion with the Engliſh Churches in the Liturgie, if they come among us where it is uſed. Therefore it ſeemeth to me to be perjury and Covenant-breaking, either to prefer *no publick worſhip* before the Liturgie, or to refuſe occaſional Communion with the Churches that uſe the Liturgie, as a thing meerly on that account unlawfnl.

QUEST. III.

Queſt. 3. *WHether the Caſe be not much altered ſince the old Non-conformiſts wrote againſt ſeparation, then called Browniſme? And whether we have not greater Light into theſe Controverſies than they?*

Anſw. 1. The Caſe of *Miniſters Conformity* is much altered, by a new Act which requireth ſubſcribing new things, Declaring Aſſent and Conſent to all things preſcribed, and contained in and by three books; and by ſome other things. But that part of the Liturgie which the people are to joyn in is made better, as is ſhewed before. And if we are returned to the *ſame ſtate* that they were then in, we are under the *ſame duties* that they were under. And let it be remembred,

membred, that we never Vowed that God ſhould not bring us back to the ſame caſe (which had been blaſphemy) And therefore it had been bad enough, if we had vowed not to do what was *our duty in that ſtate*, if God ſhould return us to it.

2. I earneſtly intreat the doubting Reader, that thinketh his duty and the Churches peace, to be worth ſo much labour, but to read over ſome of the old Non-conformiſts books againſt ſeparation. And if you there find the very ſame objections anſwered (or more and greater) than judge your ſelves whether their caſe and ours was (as to this cauſe) the ſame. The books I would deſire you to read are, Mr. *Jacobs* the Independent againſt *Johnſon*; Mr. *Bradſhaws* againſt *Johnſon*, with Mr. *Gatakers* defence of it againſt *Canne*: Mr. *Gifford*, Mr. *Darrel*, Mr. *Paget*, Mr. *Hilderſham*, Dr. *Ames*, Mr. *Cartwright*, Mr. *Brightman*, and laſt of all and fulleſt at the beginning of our troubles, Mr. *John Ball* in three books.

But of this having ſpoken already, I ſhall repeat no more; but only to profeſs my judgement, that our ordinary boaſters that think they know more in this Controverſie than the old Non-conformiſts did, as far as I am able to diſcern are as far below them almoſt, as they are below either *Chamier*, *Sadeel*, *Whitaker* or ſuch others in dealing with a Papiſt. which of *them* can *ſay that*, about Epiſcopacy, as *Gerſom*, *Bucer*, *Didoclave*, *Blondell*, *Salmaſius* have done? and ſo of the reſt.

QUEST.

QUEST. IIII.

Quest. 4. *IS it not a shameful receding from our Reformation, now to use an unreformed Liturgie, and a pulling down of what we have been building.*

Answ. 1. It is not fit here to enquire who it is that hath pulled down, and destroyed Reformation: though it be easie to discern it. But this is certain, that God hath set up the Government that is over us, and that our Governours take down by their Laws, that which we accounted Reformation: This is not *our* worke, but *theirs*: And that they permit us not otherwise publickly to worship God. And that a man in Goal doth ordinarily joyn in no publick worship at all. And where men do venture on other manner of worship in forbidden assemblies, the fears of some and the passionate discontent of others, and the disturbances by souldiers and officers, and such like, do take off much of the edification, and hinder us from such a frame of mind as is most agreeable to the work and day. And to worship God *no where*, is to go farther from Reformation, than to worship him by the *Liturgie*.

2. To do it *of choice* is one thing, and to do it as a duty *put upon us* by Gods providence, and our Governours, when we can do no better, is another thing. It is God

that

that hath *pulled down* our liberty and opportunity to ſerve him otherwiſe: and we muſt obey him. It is no faulty mutability, to change our *practice*, when God by changing our condition doth change our *duty*: No more than it was in *Paul* who to the Jews became a Jew, and circumciſed *Timothy*, and ſhaved his head for his Vow &c. and became all things to all men: And no more than it was in *Auguſtine* who profeſſeth that he would worſhip God, as to formes and ceremonies, according as the Church did with which he joyned where ever he came: Nor no more than it is in a traveller or merchant to joyn, in ſeveral Countries, in ſeveral faſhions and ceremonies or rites of outward worſhip.

QUEST. V.

Queſt. 5. *Will it not ſtrengthen and encourage the adverſaries of Reformation?*

Anſw. 1. We muſt not make ſuch carnal policies our guides, as to forbear that which God doth make our duty, for fear of encouraging other men. If we take this to be uncharitable factiouſneſs in others, to deſire rather all theſe diſtractions in the Church, than that the Non-conformiſts ſhould be encouraged and ſtrengthned by ſeeming to have juſtly deſired a Reformation, let us not be guilty of what we blame.

2. If

2. If you will believe themſelves, it is the *unwilling Conformiſts* that they are moſt in danger of, who profeſs that they conform of neceſſity, and deſire a Reformation; As Dr. *William Smith* hath ſhewed in a book written to that end. The Aſſembly of *Weſtminſter* that ſet up the Presbytery were ſuch Conformiſts.

3. It is ſinful pride and tenderneſs of their own honour, which maketh ſome men avoid their duty, and wrathfully grudge at them that ſpeak for it, becauſe thoſe that are againſt them thence take occaſion to inſult over them or reproach them. If men do but ſay, *you are now turncoats* and *time ſervers*, and *where is your reformation now, and you are now glad to do as we do*, they think this reaſon enough why they ſhould forbear that Communion and worſhip which is their duty. Are theſe beſeeming ſelf denying humble perſons? Could they ſuffer *death* for their duty ſake, that cannot bear a little *reproach* for it.

Object. *If we knew it were our duty we would ſuffer for it.* *Anſw.* But is it not this very ſuffering and reproach, and inſulting of others, which maketh you *think* that it is *not your duty*? And ſo carnal perſons uſe to do. They will believe nothing to be their duty which they muſt ſuffer by. Let Gods honour be all to you, and your own be nothing, and you will not much ſtick at ſuch things as theſe.

QUEST.

QUEST. VI.

Quæſt. 6. *BUT will not this courſe divide us among our ſelves; while one goeth to the Pariſh Churches and another doth not?*

Anſw. 1. Mr. *Tombes* did not ſtick at dividing the Anabaptiſts when he wrote for Pariſh Communion. And Mr. *Philip Nye* did not ſtick at the fear of dividing the Independents, when he wrote a *M. S.* (as I am credibly informed) for the hearing of the Pariſh Preachers, (though another wrote againſt it preſently after). And if an ordinary attendance on their publick doctrine be lawful, this will go further than many think, to prove the reſt of the Communion lawful.

2. We are already ſo far divided in *our judgements*, as for one to hold it to be lawful, and another to be unlawful: And who can cure this diviſion? And why ſhould it divide us *more*, if mens practice be according to their judgements, rather than for them to ſin againſt their Conſciences?

3. The great thing in which we differ from the Prelatiſts yea and Papiſts too is, that we would have our Union laid only upon *Neceſſary things*, and liberty and *Charity* maintained in the reſt. And ſhall we now contradict our ſelves, and ſay that *things neceſſary* are not ſufficient for our union? Cannot we hold union among our ſelves, if ſome go to the publick aſſemblies, and ſome

ſome do not? What is this but to have the impoſing domineering Spirit, which we ſpeak ſo much againſt? We cannot better confute the uncharitable dividing Spirit of the world, than by ſhewing them, that we can hold *Love* and *Union*, notwithſtanding as great differences as this, (yea, and much greater.)

QUEST. VII.

Queſt. 7. *SHall we not hereby countenance the Prelates in Church-Tyranny and Uſurpation? and invite them to go further, and to make more burdens of Forms and Ceremonies to lay upon the Churches?*

Anſw. Without medling now with the queſtion, what guilt it is that lyeth on any Prelates in the points here mentioned, I anſwer, on your own ſuppoſition; 1. That it is the King and his Laws which we obey herein, and not the Dioceſans.

2. How openly and fully have we declared our utter diſſent from the things which you ſuppoſe that we ſhall countenance them in? Our Writings are yet viſible: Our Conferences were notorious. And is not the loſs of our Miniſtry, and the loſs of all Eccleſiaſtical Maintenance, and the pinching wants of many poor Miniſters, and their numerous families, and our ſuffering Volumes of reproach, confinements, *&c.* a ſignification of our diſſent? The caſe is ſomewhat hard with abundance of godly faithful Miniſters? Few that never felt it themſelves, can judge

judge aright, what it is to want a houſe to dwell in, a bed to lye on, to have Wives that are weak natured, to keep in yearly patience under all ſuch neceſſities, which the Husband can bear himſelf; to have Children crying in hunger and rags, and to have a Landlord calling for his Rent, and Butchers, and Brewers, and Bakers, and Drapers, and Taylors, and Shoo-makers calling for money, when there is none to pay them (there being no *fifth part* of Church-maintenance now allowed them): in the Froſt and Snow to have no fire, nor money to buy it! And yet all this is little in compariſon of their reſtraint from preaching the Goſpel of Salvation; and the diſpleaſure of their Governours againſt them if they preach. And is not all this yet an open ſignification of their Diſſent from the things which they ſo far deny complyance with? If ſome of their Accuſers on both ſides were but in the ſame condition, they would think it ſhould go for a ſufficient notification of diſſent.

3. We perſwade no man to any one ſin, for Communion with others, no not to ſave their lives. If the thing be proved unlawful to be uſed (and not only unlawful to be ſo impoſed) we exhort all to avoid it.

4. Yea, if an over numerous aggregation of things which ſingly are lawful, ſhould make them become a ſnare and injury to the Church; we would have all in their places ſufficiently ſignifie their diſſent; or if the number ſhall turn them into a ſin in the uſers, we would have none to uſe them. Though we would not have men cenſure or contemn one another (much leſs deſtroy one

one another) for a matter of *meats*, or dayes, or ſhadows; yet if any will by falſe doctrine or Imperiouſneſs, ſay Touch not, Taſte not, handle not, and will judge us in reſpect to Meat, or Drink, or Holy Dayes, or the New Moon, or Sabbaths, *Col.* 2. 16. 21. We would have all men to bear a juſt teſtimony to the truth, and to their Chriſtian liberty.

5. But if the defects of publick Worſhip be tolerable, and if Providence, neceſſity and Laws, concurr to call us to uſe them, (whenelſe we muſt uſe none, or do worſe) here Communion doth become our duty: And a *Duty* muſt not be caſt off, for fear of ſeeming to countenance the faults of others. We have *lawful* means to ſignifie our *diſſent*: It is not in *our power* to expreſs it how *we pleaſe*, nor to go as far from the faulty as *we can*, to avoid the countenancing of their faults: But we muſt do Gods work in his own way: And we muſt diſown mens ſins only by prudent lawful means, and not by any that are contrary to Chriſtian Love and Peace, or a breach of any Law of God.

6. *Paul* was not for countenancing any of the falſehoods and faults which he reproveth in any of the Churches, eſpecially partiality, ſenſuality, drunkenneſs at the very Sacrament or Love Feaſts, 1 *Cor.* 11, &c. And yet he never bids them forſake the communion of the Church for it, till they ſhall reform. There were other wayes of teſtifying diſlike.

7. I muſt not countenance an honeſt weak Miniſter or Maſter of a family, in the diſorder

or

or defects, or errors of his prayer or inſtructing; And yet if they be *tolerable* errors or defects, I muſt not forſake either Church or family-Worſhip with him, that I may diſcountenance him.

8. There be *Errors* on the *contrary* ſide, which are not without conſiderable danger; which we are obliged alſo to take heed of countenancing. I will inſtance but in two; one in Doctrine, and the other in Practice.

1. There are men otherwiſe very honeſt, and truly godly, and of holy and unblameable lives, who think that the Scripture is intended by God, not only as a *General*, *but a particular Law or Rule, for all the very Circumſtances of Worſhip*, (yea, ſome ſay of the *common buſineſs of our lives*): *and that the ſecond Commandment in particular condemneth all that is the product or invention of man in or about the Worſhip of God*; *and that to deny this is to deny the perfection of the Scripture*; *and that all written Books, and Printed, are Images there forbidden*; *and that all ſtudied or prepared Sermons*, (*as to Method or Words, whether in Notes or memory*) *are forbidden Images of Preaching, and that all provided Words or Forms* (*written, or in memory, of our own or other mens Contrivance or Compoſition*) *are forbidden Images of Prayer*; *and all prepared Metre and Tunes are forbidden Images of Praiſe or ſinging*; *and that no man that uſeth any ſuch preparation or form of words in preaching or prayer, doth preach or pray by the help of Gods Spirit*; *and that if Parents do but teach a Child a*

form of words to pray in, they teach him this forbidden Imagery, yea, Idolatry.

I hope the number is but ſmall that are of this Opinion, and that it being commonly diſowned by the *Non-conformiſts*, no juſtice or Modeſty can charge it on them, but only on the *few perſons* that are guilty of it. But yet I muſt ſay, that we are obliged to take heed of Countenancing this Error, as well as of Countenancing Church-Uſurpations.

For 1. When a few men of eminent integrity are of this mind, it proveth to us that *many more may* be brought to it, and are in danger of it; Becauſe meer Piety and Honeſty is not enough to keep men from it: Yea, when men otherwiſe *eminent* alſo for *Learning* and great underſtanding are of that mind (as they are) poor, ignorant, unlearned perſons, though very godly, are not out of the danger of it.

2. And if it prevail, what abundance of hurt will it do?

1. You may read in the new Eccleſiaſtical Politician, how it will exaſperate the minds of others, and give them matter of bitter reproach, and for the ſake of a very few, how many that are blameleſs ſhall be aſperſed with it? and the cauſe of the Non-conformiſts, yea, with many, the Proteſtant, yea, and the Chriſtian Religion, rendred contemptible and odious by it.

2. It draweth men into the dangerous guilt of Adding to the Word of God, under pre-

tence

tence of ſtrict expounding it, and defending its perfection and extent.

3. By the ſame Rule as they deal thus by one Text (as the ſecond Command) they may do ſo by all: And if all or much of the Scripture were but thus expounded, I leave it to the ſober Reader to conſider, what a body of Divinity it would make us, and what a Religion we ſhould have?

4. It altereth the very Definition of the holy Scripture, and maketh it another thing: That which God made to be the Record of his holy Covenant, and the Law and Rule of *Faith* and *Holineſs*, and the General Law for outward Modes and Circumſtances, which are but Accidents of Worſhip, is pretended by men to be a particular Law, for that which it never particularly medleth with.

5. It ſorely prepareth men for *Infidelity*, and to deny the Divine Authority of the Scripture, and utterly to undo all by overdoing. If Satan could but once make men believe, that the Scripture is a Rule for thoſe things that are not to be found in it at all, and which God never made it to be a Rule for, he will next argue againſt it, as a deluſory and imperfect thing. He will teach every Artificer, to ſay, That which is an imperfect Rule, is not of God. But the Scripture is an imperfect Rule. For ſaith, the Watch-maker, I cannot learn to make a Watch by it; ſaith the Scrivener, I cannot make a Legal Bond or Indentures by it; ſaith the Carpenter, I cannot build a

Houſe by it; ſaith the Phyſician, I cannot ſufficiently know or cure Diſeaſes by it; ſaith the Mathematician, Aſtronomer, Geographer, Muſician, Arithmetician, the Grammarian, Logician, Natural Philoſopher, &c. it is no perfect particular Rule of our Arts or Sciences: The Divine will ſay, It tells me not ſufficiently and particularly what Books in it ſelf are Canonical, nor what various Readings are the right, nor whether every Text be brought to us uncorrupted, nor whether it be to be divided into Chapters and Verſes, and into how many: Nor what Metre or Tune I muſt ſing a Pſalm in; nor what perſons ſhall be Paſtors of the Churches, nor what Text I ſhall chooſe next, nor what Words I ſhall uſe in my next Sermon or Prayer, with abundance ſuch like: Only in *General*, both *Nature* and *Scripture* ſay, *Let all things be done in Order and to Edification*, &c. Spiritually, Purely, Believingly, Wiſely, Zealouſly, Conſtantly, &c. He that believeth it to be given as ſuch a *particular Rule*, and then findeth that it is ſilent or utterly inſufficient to that uſe, is like next to caſt it away as a deluſion, and turn an Infidel, or Anti-ſcripturiſt.

6. This miſtake tendeth to caſt all Rational Worſhip out of the Church and World; by deterring men from *inventing* or *ſtudying* how to do Gods work aright. For if all that man *inventeth* or *deviſeth* be a forbidden Image, than we muſt not invent or find out by ſtudy, the true meaning of a Text, the true method

of

of Praying or Preaching, according to the various ſubjects: Nay, we muſt not ſtudy what to ſay, till we are ſpeaking, nor what Time, Place, Geſture, Words to uſe; no nor the very *Engliſh* Tongue that we muſt Pray and Preach in, Whereas the Scripture it ſelf-requireth us, *to meditate day and night, to ſtudy to ſhew our ſelves workmen that need not be aſhamed: to ſearch and dig for knowledge*, &c. *Do they not err that deviſe evil? but mercy and truth ſhall be to them that deviſe good:* Prov. 14. 22. *I Wiſdom dwell, with Prudence (or ſubtilty) and find out knowledge of witty inventions*, Prov. 8. 12. *The Preacher ſought to find out acceptable words*, Eccleſ. 12. 10. Baniſh ſtudy, and you baniſh knowledge and Religion from the world: The *Spirit moveth* us to *ſearch* and *ſtudy*, and thereby teacheth us what to judge, and ſay, and do; and doth not move us, as I play on an Inſtrument, that knoweth not what it doth.

7. This Opinion will bring in all Confuſion inſtead of pure reaſonable Worſhip: While every man is left to find that in the Scripture which never was there, and that as the only Rule of his actions, one will think that he findeth one thing there, and another another thing. For it muſt be *Reality* and *Verity*, which muſt be the term of *Unity*: Men cannot agree in that which is not.

8. Yea, it will let in impiety and error; for when men are ſent to ſeek and find that which is not there, every man will think that he find-

eth that, which his own corrupted mind brings thither.

9. And hereby all possibility of Union among Christians and Churches must perish, till this Opinion perish: For if we must unite only in that which is not in being, we must not unite at all. If we must all in singing Psalms, agree in no *Metre* or *Tune* in the Church but *one* that *Scripture* hath prescribed us, we shall sing with lamentable discord.

10. And hereby is laid a snare to tempt men into odious censures of each other: Because studied Sermons, printed Books, Catechisms and Forms of Prayer, are *Images and Idolatry*, in these mens conceits, all Gods Churches in the world must be censured as Idolatrous. And almost all his Ministers in the world must be accounted Idolaters; Children must account their Parents Idolaters, and disobey them that would teach them a Catechism, Psalm or Form of Prayer. Our Libraries must be burnt or cast away as Images; And when *Ministers are diminished*, and *accounted Idolaters*, if Satan could next but perswade people against all the *holy Books* of the Ministers of Christ (such as *Boltons*, *Prestons*, *&c.*) as Images and Idols, had he not plaid a more successful game, then he did by *Julian*, and doth by the *Turks*, who keep the Christians but from humane Learning?

11. Hereby *Christian Love* will be quenched, when every man must account his Brother an Idolater, that cannot shew a Scripture, for the hour, the place of Worship, the Bells, the Hour-glasses,

glaſſes, the Pulpit, the Utenſils, &c. or that ſtudieth what to ſay before he Pray or Preach?

12. And hereby backbiting, ſlandering and railing muſt go currant as no ſin, while every *Calvin, Cartwright, Hilderſham, Perkins, Sibbs, &c.* that uſed a Form of Prayer, yea, almoſt all the Chriſtians in the world, muſt be accuſed of Idolatry, as if it were a true and righteous charge.

13. And all our ſins will be fathered on God, as if the ſecond Commandment and the Scripture perfection did require all this, and taught Children to diſobey their Parents and Maſters, and ſay your Prayers and Catechiſms are Images and Idols, &c

14. It will rack and perplex the Conſciences of all Chriſtians; when I muſt take my ſelf for an Idolater, till I can find a particular Law in Scripture, for every Tune, Metre, Tranſlation, Method, Word, Veſture, Geſture, Utenſil, &c. that I uſe in the worſhipping of God: When Conſcience muſt build only in the air, and reſt only on a word which never was.

15. It will have a confounding influence into all the affairs and buſineſs of our lives.

16. Laſtly, It will affright poor people from Scripture and Religion, and make us, our Doctrine and Worſhip, ridiculous in the ſight of all the world. The Doctrine (which we hear maintained) which hath no better fruits than theſe, muſt be avoided, as well as the *contrary extream*, which would indeed charge the Law of God with imperfection, and cauſe man to

uſurp

uſurp the part of Chriſt. And we muſt firſt know, *How far God made the Scripture for our Rule?* and then we muſt maintain its ſufficiency and perfection.

II. Alſo on that extream, we muſt do nothing to countenance thoſe *Practices* which tend to alienate Chriſtians hearts from one another, and to keep up Church-Wars, or to feed bitter cenſures, ſcorns and reproaches. And we that muſt not ſcandalize the Religious ſort, muſt avoid all that thus tempteth them, which is the real ſcandal. But of this I have ſaid enough in the Book which I am now defending.

Part II.

An ANSWER to the

Untrue and unjuſt Exceptions

OF THE

ANTIDOTE

Againſt my TREATISE for

LOVE and *UNITY.*

DEar Brother (for ſo I will call you, whether you will or not), the chief trouble that I am put to in anſwering your Exceptions (next to that of my grief for the Churches and your ſelf, by reaſon of ſuch Diagnoſticks of your Malady) is the naming of your manifold *Untruths in matter of fact*. It is, it ſeems, no fault in your

eyes to commit them; but I fear you will account it unpardonable bitterness in me to tell you that you have committed them. If I call them *Mistakes*, the Reader will not know by that name, whether it be mistakes in point of *Fact* or of *Reason*: And *Lies* I will not call them, because it is a provoking word: Therefore *Untruths* must be the middle title.

EXCEPT. I.

1 *Untruth.* Page 1. *The whole design of this Book being to make such as at this day are carefull to keep themselves Pure from all defilements in False worship, Odious, it may well be affirmed it was neither seasonable nor honest*—

Answ. THat's the *fundamental Untruth* which animateth all the rest. when you had got a false apprehension of the design of the Book, you seem to expound the particular passages by that Key. That which you call, *The whole design*, is not *any part* of the design, but is expresly and vehemently oft *disclaimed* and *protested against* in the Book. And whoever readeth it without a Partial mind, will presently see that the whole design of the Book is to deliver weak Christians from such mistakes and sins, as *destroy their Love to other Christians*, and cause the *divisions* among the Churches.

2. *False*

2. *False worſhip* is a word of various ſenſes: Either it ſignifieth, 1. *Idolatry*, in worſhipping a *falſe God*. 2. Or the Idolatrous worſhipping of Images, as repreſentations of the *true God*. 3. Or worſhipping God by Doctrines and Prayers that conſiſt of *falſhoods*. 4. Or deviſing Worſhip-Ordinances, and *falſly* ſaying they are the *Ordinances of God*. 5. Or making God a Worſhip which he *forbiddeth*, in the *ſubſtance*, and *will not accept*. 6. Or worſhipping God in an inward ſinful manner, through *falſe principles* and ends as hypocrites do. 7. Or in a *ſinful outward manner*, through diſorder, defectiveneſs, and unhandſome or unfit expreſſions. False Worſhip, what: ſeven ſenſes of that word.

Of theſe, I ſuppoſe you will not charge the Churches you ſeparate from, as guilty of the *firſt*, *ſecond*, *fourth*, or *ſixth*, (which is out of the reach of humane judgment) For I ſuppoſe you to be ſober. As for the *third*, through Gods great mercie, the Doctrine of *England* is ſo ſound, that the Independants and Presbyterians have ſtill offered to ſubſcribe to it in the 39 Articles: according to which (*if* there were any doubtfulneſs in) the phraſes of their Prayers, (they) are to be interpreted. For the *fifth*, if you accuſe them of it, you muſt prove it; which is not yet done (ſuppoſing that you take not *Government* for *Worſhip*); nor *can* you do it. So that it muſt lie only on the *ſeventh*. And for that (if you will take the word [falſe-worſhip] in that ſenſe) do not you alſo worſhip

God *falsly* when you worship him *sinfully*? And are not *your disorders and unmeet expressions sins*, as well as theirs? Alas, how oft have I joyned in Prayer with honest men that have spoken confusedly, unhandsomly, and many waies more unaptly and disorderly than the Common Prayer is? How oft have I heard good old Mr. *Simeon Ash* say, that he *hath heard many Ministers pray so unfitly, that he could heartily have wished that they had rather used the Common Prayer*? When did any one of us pray without sin? How ordinarily do Anabaptists, Antinomians, Arminians, Separatists, &c. put their Opinions into their Prayers, and so make them *false Prayers*, and so *false Worship*? Nay, could you lay by partiality, and *know your self* (a very hard thing) you would presently see that you who wrote these Exceptions, are liker to Worship God *falsly* than they that do it by the Liturgie, that is, in the *third* sense: Because the *Doctrine* of the Prayers in the Liturgie is sound; but if you account this Script of yours to be *Worship* (and why not *writing* as well as *preaching*) or if you put the *same things* into your *Worship*, which you put into your writings, (as is very usual with others) then it is *false Worship indeed*, as consisting of too many falshoods. If you *pray* to God to encline men against all that Communion which you *write* against, or *lament* such Communion as a *sin*, this is *falser worship* than any is in the Liturgick Prayers. And if you will call all those

modes

modes of worſhip *falſe*, which God in Scripture hath not commanded, what a *falſe worſhipper* are you, that uſe a tranſlation of Scripture, a Verſion and tunes of Pſalms, a dividing the Scripture into Chapters and Verſes, yea the Method and words of every Sermon and Prayer, or moſt, and abundance ſuch like which God commanded not? God never bid you uſe the words of Prayer in the *Liturgie*; Nor did he ever bid you uſe thoſe which you *uſed laſt* without it.

O Brother, if you knew your ſelf, and judged impartially, you would ſee, that whatever you ſay againſt mens communicating with other mens tolerable failings, as *falſe worſhip*, may be as ſtronglie urged for avoiding communion in *diſordered prayers* that are *without book*; and much more in the prayers of honeſt erroneous Separatiſts, Anabaptiſts, Antinomians, &c. which yet for my part I will not ſo eaſily avoid. I confeſs if my judgment were not more than yours againſt *dividing* from each other in the general, I ſhould be one that ſhould be as forward to diſclaim Communion with many zealous Parties (now received by you) and that as *falſe worſhippers*, as you are to diſclaim Communion with others. I am ſure you worſhip God *falſly*, that is, *ſinfully*, every time that you worſhip him.

3. But, ſeeing my Book diſſwadeth you *equally* from unjuſt avoiding Communion with *all ſound and ſober Chriſtians*; I ask you, whether all theſe ſeveral parties are *falſe*

false worshippers, save you alone? Did not the Presbyterians and Independants agree in worship, when you gathered Churches out of their Churches, and when thousands separated from all the Parish Churches almost then existent? Indeed the Anabaptists charged us also with false worship, but it was not truly. But the ordinary Dividers had not that pretense.

4. O how easie a thing is it, Brother, for a man, without any supernatural Grace, to reproach another mans *Words* in Worship, and then to abhor it and avoid it, and think, I am one that keep my self Pure from false Worship! But to keep our selves pure from pride, censoriousness, uncharitableness, contention, evil speaking, and sensual vices, is a harder work. Others can as easily (without mortification or humilitie) keep themselves pure from *your* false worship as you can do from theirs.

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2. *Untruth.* EXCEPT. ib. *Since the crying sin this day is not separation, but unjust and violent* Persecution, ($\frac{1}{2}$) *which Mr.* Baxter *speaketh very little against.*

Answ. 1. ALas, dear Brother, that after so many years silencing and affliction, after flames and Plagues, and dreadful Judgments, after twenty years practice of the sin it self, and when we are buried in the very ruines which it caused, we should

ſhould not yet know that our own uncharitable *Diviſions*, *Alienations*, and *Separations*, are a *crying ſin*? Yea *the crying ſin*; as well as the uncharitableneſs and hurtfulneſs of others? Alas, will God leave *us alſo*, even *us* to the obduratenes of *Phiraoh*? Doth not judgment begin with us? Is there not crying ſin with us? what have we done to Chriſts Kingdome, to this Kingdome, to our friends (dead and alive) to our ſelves, and (alas) to our enemies, by our Diviſions? And do we not *feel* it? Do we not *know it*? Is *it* yet *to us*, even *to us*, a crime intolerable to call us to Repentance? Wo to us! Into what hard-heartedneſs have we ſinned our ſelves! Yea that we ſhould continue in the ſin, and paſſionately defend it! When will God give us Repentance unto life?

2. And whither doth your paſſion carry you, when you wrote ſo ſtrange an untruth as this, that I [*ſpeak very little againſt it*]. Was it poſſible for you to read the Book, and gather Exceptions, and yet to believe your ſelf in this? Doth not the Book ſpeak againſt *Church-Tyranny*, *Unjuſt impoſitions*, *Violence*, and *taking away mens Liberty*, and *rigor with Diſſenters*, from end to end? If any man that readeth but the Preface (as page 14, 15, 16, 17, 18.) and all the ſecond part (beſides much more) can poſſibly believe you, I will never undertake to hinder him from believing any thing.

3. But ſuppoſe I had ſaid *little againſt it*, will you charge me with *Negatives* or omiſ-

fions before you know my Reaſons? Or would you have no *better* people hear of their ſin and duty, till *Perſecutors* will endure to hear of theirs. *Exod.* 6. 12. *Behold the children of Iſrael have not hearkened unto me: how then ſhall, &c.* ſaith *Moſes*? Have moſt or many of the Separation ſaid more againſt ſeverities than I have done?

4. But could you poſſibly be ignorant that a *Licenſe* is not to be expected for ſuch a Diſcourſe as you ſeem here to expect. You deal by me as the late *Perſwaſive to Conformity*, that vehemently calls to me to publiſh my Reaſons for Nonconformity, while he knew my hands were tied by the Laws and Licenſers.

5. But what if I had not in *this Book* ſpoken much againſt Perſecution, Is it not enough that I have done it in *others*? I have not here written on many ſubjects which in other Volumes I have written of. And why ſhould I? If I had, would you not have blamed me for writing one thing ſo oft? But you moſt unhappily choſe this Inſtance for your quarrel, I think in the judgment of all the Land, that have read my writings? Beſides my five Diſputations of Church Government, how oft have I written againſt Perſecution? The few Publick Sermons that ever I Preached, had ſomewhat againſt it. Read our Papers to the Biſhops in 1660. eſpecially the Reply to their Exceptions, and the Petition for Peace. Enquire again of the long provoking Conference at the *Savoy*,

Savoy, and the reason of the following indignation against me, and afterwards read *this Book* again; and then I modestly challenge you 1, to name those men in *England*, especially of the Separatists, that have said and done more against that severity which you call Persecution, than I have done. 2. To name me one *Licensed Book* since the silencing of the Ministers, and since the *Printing Act*, *That hath said so much against Severity and Persecution as the Book which you quarrel with hath done.*

EXCEPT. II. Mr. B. *mentioneth with much bitterness what was formerly done in the time of the War; which is in him a most unbecoming practice; because first, Mr. B. was as guilty of stirring up and fomenting that War as any one whatsoever: and none ought to blame the effect, who gave rise and encouragement to the Cause.* 3. *Untruth.*

Answ. 1. IF you mean that my words *taste bitterly to you*, I cannot deny it: You know best: But for my part, any Reader may see in the Book which the Preface referreth to, that I only lament our too open undeniable uncharitableness and divisions, and the effects thereof, and use the mention of some mens former faults with whom they and I can hold communion, to prove by way of Argument that they ought not to avoid communion with others for the

Of my mentioning former things.

the like or leſs. And I know not how to convince men well, if I muſt paſs by all ſuch experimental Arguments.

2. Do you not mark your partialitie, Brother! In our Reply to them 1660. pag. 7, 8. *et alibi*, and in my 5 Diſput. &c. I tell the *Biſhops* of *faults paſt*, of *Silencings*, and *Suſpendings*, *&c.* of the excellent Miniſters afflicted and laid by; and how ordinarily are they told of the things charged on Biſhop *Laud*, *Pierce*, *Wren*, *&c.* in their Articles to the Parliament: And when did you blame me or others for ſo doing? Can I believe that *this* offendeth you? And is it ſin to tell *your ſelves* of your former ſins, and none to tell the Biſhops of it? O that we could know what ſpirit we are of.

3. Your third untruth in point of fact, is, [*that I was as guilty of ſtirring up and fomenting that war as any one whatſoever.*] Could you poſſibly believe your ſelf in this? 1. I ſuppoſe you never ſaw me till above ten years after I had done with Wars. 2. I ſuppoſe you lived far from me. 3. If you know *whom*, and *what* you ſpeak of, you know that I was never of the *Aſſembly*; I never *Preached to the Parliament*, till the day before the King was Voted home: I was forced from home to *Coventry*: *There* it was that I did ſpeak my Opinion, but refuſed their Commiſſion as Chaplain to the Garriſon. In *Shropſhire* my Father was twice impriſoned, that never did any thing againſt the King; nor medled with Wars:

For

For two Months I did ſomething there to little purpoſe, and once got my father out of Priſon, by cauſing another to be ſeized to redeem him; but I never took Commiſſion, Office, or pay all that time. I never entred into the Army till after *Naſeby* fight, and openly declared I went thither for *this purpoſe*, To diſcharge my Conſcience in *diſſwading the Souldiers from the Overturning of the Government*, and to have turned them from the purpoſe which I perceived among them, of doing what afterwards they did. If you and others that know not what they talk of, will but ask Dr. *Brian*, Dr. *Grew*, Mr. *King*, or others, whom aſſembled, I twice conſulted about it, or any Surviverſ of the *Coventry* Committee, what buſineſs I went on into the Army, you will change your mind.

And did [*no man whatſoever do more than this.*] What not the *Parliament themſelves*? Not any of the *chief Speakers there*? Not any of their *acquaintance*. What, not any of the other party neither? Not any of the *Armies*, neither of the Earl of *Eſſex* nor of *Cromwel* himſelf? How then came the Armies on both ſides to be raiſed, and proceed ſo far in Wars, before ever I ſaw one man of them, to my remembrance, or any Parliament man or Souldier had ever ſpake with me, or ſaw me, or ever had a line of writing from me? Why do you find none of my Parliament Sermons in Print?

Whether I were as guilty as any in ſtirring up the War?

4. But, if indeed I was as guilty as you mention,

mention, why is it in *me a moſt unbecoming practice*, to blame that which you think I did occaſion? Is this good Divinity, that it is unbecoming a Miniſter to mention heinous ſin with bitterneſs which we have bin guilty of? How then ſhall we repent? Or is Repentance an unbecoming thing? I hope the Act of Oblivion was not made to fruſtrate Gods Act of Oblivion, which giveth Pardon to the Penitent? Doth it forbid us to Repent of ſin, or to perſwade our brethren to repent? Where ſin is hated, Repentance will not be hated: And if ſin were as *bitter* as it *muſt be*, Reproof would not be *bitter*.

5. Do you think that you Preach ſound Doctrine, when you ſay that [*None ought to blame the effects who gave riſe and encouragement to the Cauſe.*] If this Doctrine be part of Gods worſhip which you offer him, who ſhould be avoided as a *falſe worſhipper*, that is, a *falſe teacher*, ſooner than your ſelf! What a ſcandal is it to the world, and diſhonour to your ſelf, that ſuch Doctrine ſhould be found thus under your hand, deliberately delivered? If this be true, then he that firſt encouraged the War on either ſide, muſt not blame any of the Murders, Robberies or other Villanies therein committed? Then he that hired the *French* man to ſet *London* on Fire, muſt not blame the *burning* of it. Then a man ought not to blame any ſin which ever he was a cauſe of! Then when a man hath once ſinned he

muſt

muſt *deſpair*, and never muſt repent nor blame his crime. If you had found ſuch Doctrine as this in the Common Prayer Book, you would have had a fowler charge againſt it than now you have, as to Doctrinals. Which I mention but to ſhew you, that if we muſt run away from one another for every thing that is unſound, we ſhall never have done, and others muſt avoid you as much as you do them.

6. But your *deceit* in the word [*That War*] hath a *tranſparent* covering. *Which War* is it that you mean? Do you think all that is done in one land, or one age, or by one Army, is *one War*? Where there are ſeveral cauſes, (eſpecially if alſo ſeveral parties,) ſure they are ſeveral Wars. The firſt War was made under the Earl of *Eſſex*, when the Commiſſions run [*for the King and Parliament*]. The ſecond War begun under *Fairfax* and *Cromwell*, when [*for the King*] was left out of the Commiſſions. Another War was by *Cromwell* againſt the *Londoners* and *Parliament*, when he garbelled them (though it came not to blows). Another War was againſt the *Scots* Army and the *Engliſh* that roſe for the Kings Deliverance. Another was in *Ireland*: Another in *Scotland*: Another between *Cromwel* and the Levellers. And many others there were afterwards under ſeveral Uſurping Powers; And do you call all theſe *one*? or which of them do you mean?

And guilty of all which he calleth the Effects?

7. I ſuppoſe you groſly call the meer conſe-

consequents, the effects. Sure that which was the *Effect* of a *later War*, might be but the *Consequent* of a former. Or else you must say that the Parliament raised War against themselves, to pull down themselves, and set up a Protector? This was the *Consequent* of their first War; but whether the *effect* I leave to Logicians to determine. But by this you may see that you again preach false doctrine. The King may *give rise and encouragement to a War*, and yet *may* lawfully blame such Consequents as you call effects: What if the Kings own Army should plunder and murder, and blaspheme and depopulate; yea, or depose or hurt, or any way injure the King himself? Shall a man that separateth from the Liturgie as false worship come and tell us, that the King ought not to blame any of this because he gave rise and encouragement to the War: Extremities and Passion do thus unhappily use to blind men.

Whether nothing past must be repented of.

8. But seriously, Brother, I beseech you let us review the *Effects* you mention or respect. Is it possible for any sober Christian in the World to take them to be *blameless*, or to be *little sins*. What! both the violating the *person* and *life* of the King. And the Change of the *fundamental Government or Constitution*. And an *Armies force upon the Parliament* which they *promised* obedience to? First upon *eleven members*; next upon the *greater part* of the house; and lastly upon the *remainder?* The taking down

the *house of Lords*; The setting up a Parliament without the *peoples Choice* or *Consent*. The *invading and Conquering Scotland*: The making their General *Protector*. The making an Instrument of Government themselves, without the people. The setting up their second Protector. The forcing him to dissolve the Parliament. The pulling him down, whom themselves had lately set up. The setting up the remnant of the Commons again: The pulling them presently down again: The placing the Supremacy in a Council of themselves, and their adherents. Was *all this* lawful? And to do all this as for God, with dreadful appeals to him? Dare you or any man, not blinded and hardened, justifie all this? If none of all this was Rebellion or Treason, or Murder, is there any such Crime, think you, possible to be committed? Are Papists insulting over us in our shame? Are thousands hardened by these and such like dealings into a scorn of all Religion? Are our Rulers by all this exasperated to the severities which we feel? Are Ministers silenced by the occation of it, about eighteen hundred at once, (even many hundreds that never were in any Wars, and such as consented not to this at all.) Are we made by it the by-word and hissing of the Nations, and the shame and pitty of all our friends? And yet is all this to be *justified*, or *silenced*? and *none of it at all* to be *openly repented of*? I openly profess to you, that I believe till this be done, we are

The Reader must note that I wrote the full Narrative of my Actions herein, which this presupposeth, but after cast it away, because neither part of the accusers can bear it.

are never like to be healed and reſtored; and that it is heinous groſs impenitence, that keepeth Miniſters and people under their diſtreſs: And I take it for the ſad Prognoſtick of our future woe, and (at beſt) our lengthened affliction, to read ſuch writings againſt *Repentance*, and to hear ſo little *open profeſſion of Repentance*, even for *unqueſtionable heinous crimes*; for the ſaving of thoſe that are undone by theſe ſcandals, and for the reparation of the honour of Religion, which is moſt notoriouſly injured.

To ſee men ſtill think, that their *Repentance* is the *diſhonour of their party* and *Cauſe*, whoſe honour can no other way be repaired! To ſee men ſo blind, as to think that the *ſilencing* of theſe things will *hide them*, as if they were not known to the World! That man or party that will juſtifie *all theſe heinous Crimes*, and ſtill plead *Conſcience* or *Religion* for them, doth grievous injury to *Conſcience* and *Religion*: I have told you truly in the book which is *bitter* to you, that Gods way of vindicating the honour of Religion, is for us by open free Confeſſion, to take all the ſhame to our ſelves, that it be not injuriouſly caſt upon Religion. And the Devils way of preſerving the honour of the Godly, is by juſtifying their ſins, and pleading Religion for them, that ſo *Religiouſneſs it ſelf* may be taken to be hypocriſie and wickedneſs; as maintaining and befriending wickedneſs.

For my own part I thought when I waſted

ſted my ſtrength, and hazarded my life in the Army againſt theſe fore-named Crimes, and afterwards preached and wrote againſt them ſo openly, and ſo many years, that I had not been ſo much guilty of them as you here affirm. But if I was, I do openly confeſs that, if I lay in ſackcloth and in tears, and did lament my ſins before the World, & beg pardon both of God and man, and intreat all men not to impute it to Religion, but to me, and to take warning by my fall, which had done ſuch unſpeakable wrong to Chriſt and men, I ſhould do no more than the plain light of nature aſſureth me to be my great and needful duty.

EXCEPT. II ib. *There is daily much greater prophaneneſs, and the Conſequent of prophaneneſs, Immorality, acted by thoſe* (4) *whom yet Mr.* Baxter *never mentioneth but with honour; As if no ſins or miſcarriages were to be blamed but theirs, who are unable to defend themſelves.* 4 *Untruth.*

Anſw. 1. IF this were true, I were much too blame, it being the very uſage of others againſt my ſelf, which I have great reaſon to complain of.

2. But if it was poſſible for you to believe your own words, that *I never mention* them *but with honour*, I ſhall think that there are few things that you may not poſſibly believe. Reader, if thou peruſe the book, and

Whether I never mention the prophane but with honour.

yet believe this Author, I am not capable of satisfying thee in this, nor will I undertake it in any thing else. Are these terms of honour Pref. p. 18. [*How long Lord must thy Church and Cause be in the hands of unexperienced furious fools*, &c.] Do I honour them when I so much display their sin? And when in the scheme in the conclusion I describe it? And when I tell you of many of such Ministers, and that it is a duty to separate from them, or disown them. And when in the history of *Martin*, I tell you how neer it I am my self, as to such as *Martin* separated from? And when I cite *Gildas*, calling such *no Ministers, but enemies* and *traytors*, &c. Were you not very rash in this?

3. But what if *in this book* I write neither against the *prophane*, nor the *Jews*, nor the *Mahometans*? Is it nothing that I have written the greater part of above fifty books besides against them.

4. What if there be *Prophaneness* to be reproved; doth it follow that *we* must not be reproved also? Must *we* not repent, because *they* must repent?

5. O how hard is it to please all men! What man in *England* hath been less suspected to be a flatterer of such as he mourneth than my self? or more accused of the contrary that hath any reputation of ministerial sobriety? Ask the Bishops that Conferred with us at the *Savey*, 1660? Ask your self that read our Reply then? Ask any that ever did Converse with me; whether ever I

was ſuſpected of flattery, or dawbing with men: ſins?

6. But ſeeing you ſo far honour me, as to vindicate me from other mens accuſations, I ſhall confeſs that it is my judgement, both that we ſhould *honour all men*, 1 Pet. 2. 17. eſpecially our ſuperiors; and alſo that in *our eyes a vile perſon ſhould be contemned, while we honour them that fear the Lord*, Pſal. 15. 4.

EXCEPT. III. *He alloweth himſelf a great and maſterly liberty, to call his brethren fierce, ſelf-conceited dividers, feaveriſh perſons*, &c.

Anſw. IF there be none ſuch, or but a few, I will joyfully confeſs my error; But if all ages of the Church have had ſuch, and if this Kingdom have been ſo troubled by ſuch, as all men know; and if they yet live in this ſin to their own trouble and ours, why ſhould it be contrary to meekneſs to mention it? Should I hate my Brother, in ſuffering ſin to lie upon him. Of partial tenderneſs.

Every paragraph almoſt inviteth me to remember Chriſts words to the two fierie Diſciples, and to ſay, *O how hard is it to know what manner of ſpirit we are of*. Tell me Reader, whether this be not true? that if I had called the Biſhops *ſacrilegious ſilencers of a faithful Miniſtry, murderers of many hundred thouſand ſouls, perjurious, proud, tyrannical,*

nical, covetous, formal hypocrites, malignant haters of good men, &c. I might not very eaſily have come off with many of theſe angry brethren, without any blame for want of Meekneſs? Nay, whether they would not have liked it as my zeal? when as ſuch a gentle touch upon themſelves, doth intollerably hurt them. Is there not groſs partialitie in this.

Note alſo that theſe brethren that plead for Libertie do call it a *maſterly* Libertie in me, thus to name their faults. And do you think that they would not have *ſilenced* my book, if it had been in their power? *Note then whether the ſilencing imperious Spirit, be not common to both extreams.*

EXCEPT. Ib. *He uſeth the ſame frothy and unſavoury words, that others prophane Prayer and the name of God by, and which at the beſt, is that fooliſh talking or jeſting which we are commanded not ſo much as to mention*, Eph. 5. 3, 4.

Of my fooliſh talking.

Anſw. THE words are [*I am only perſwading all diſſenters to Love one another, and to forbear but all that is contrary to love: And if ſuch an exhortation and advice ſeem injurious or intolerable to you, the Lord have mercy on your ſouls.*] Is the matter of this prayer unlawful? Or can he prove that I ſpake it jeſtingly, when I took it to be the ſerious prayer of my grieved heart?

heart? Or may we uſe no words (as *Lord have mercy on us*, &c.) which others uſe unreverently? Or is it true doctrine, that this is the *fooliſh talk and jeſting* forbidden, Eph. 5? What proof is there here of any one word of all this?

EXCEPT. IV. p. 2. *He doth very often and needleſly inſiſt on many things that may tend to advance his own reputation.*] The inſtances are added.

Of my Pride.

Anſw. 1. I Confeſs, Brother, I am a great ſinner, and have more faults than you have yet found out. But I pray you note, that all this ſtill is nothing to our Controverſie, whether we ſhould adviſe men againſt *Church diviſions* as contrary to *Love*.

2. If a humble Phyſitian may put a *probatum* to his Receipt, and ſay *I have much experience of this or that*; I pray you why may not a humble Miniſter tell *England*, that I (and you) have had *experience of the hurt of diviſions*, and of the healing uniting power of Love? Did all the Independent Church-members whoſe *Experiences* are printed in a book, take *Experience* to be a word of pride.

3. And is it pride to *thank the World for their Civilities* to me, in mixing Commendations, which I diſown, with their cenſures? What! to confeſs the remnants of

their moderation (notorious in matter of fact, the truth of which you durſt not deny) in the midſt of their many falſe cenſures and calumnies.

4. Or to tell you how unable I have found back-biters, to prove their accuſations in doctrinals to my face? 5. Or to tell you, that ſome (even Independents) perſwaded me, when I was ſilenced to write ſermons for ſome of the weaker Conformiſts (ſuch as are too many youths from the Univerſity) to preach? Where lieth the pride of theſe expreſſions? Is it in ſuppoſing that there *are any Conformiſts weaker* than my ſelf? Whether, think you, this brother or I, think meanlier of them? Or ſet our ſelves at the greater diſtance from them? 6. When I plead againſt charging forms with [*Idolatry*] I ſay, that for my ſelf [*it is twenty times harder to me to remember a form of words, than to expreſs what is in my mind without them.*] If this be not true, why did you not queſtion the truth of it? If it be, why is it pride to utter it, as a proof that I plead for Love, and not, for my own intereſt? Is it pride to confeſs ſo openly the weakneſs of my memory? I never learnt a Sermon without book in my life: I think I could not learn an hours ſpeech, ſufficiently to utter the very words by memory in a fortnights time. And is it pride for a man to ſay that he can eaſier ſpeak what is in his mind? Truly brother, I was ſo far from intending it as a *boaſt*, that I meant it as a

dimi-

diminution of the over-valued honour of preſent extemporary expreſſion, and to tell you, that I take it to be ſo far from proving that your prayers only are accepted of God, before a form, as ſignifying more grace, that I take it to be an *eaſier thing* for an *accuſtomed* man that hath not a diſeaſed heſitancy to ſpeak *extempore what is in his mind*, than to learn a form without book; And that they that *do this*, do ſerve God with as much labour and coſt as you do? Do I boaſt, or do I not ſpeak the common caſe of moſt Miniſters, when I truly ſay, That when I take *moſt pains* for a Sermon, I write *every word*: when I take a *little pains* I write the *heads*; but when buſineſs hindereth me from taking *any pains*, I do neither, but ſpeak what is in my mind; which I ſuppoſe others as well as I, could do all the day and week together, if wearineſs did not interrupt them. I ſeek by theſe words but to abate their pride that think themſelves ſpiritual, becauſe they can pray or preach without book; Like ſome now neer me, that account it formality and a ſign that a Preacher ſpeaketh not by the Spirit, if he *uſe notes*, or *preach upon a text of Scripture*; but admire one neer them that *cries down ſuch, and uſeth neither*.

Whether it be eaſier to pray *extempore*, or by memory of words.

7. Is it pride to ſay that [*thoſe darker* perſons *whom I have been fain to rebuke for their over-valuing me and my underſtanding*, would yet as ſtiffly defend their moſt groundleſs opinions againſt me when I croſt them,

them, as if they thought I had no understanding.] If you do think that *you* cannot be *over-valued*, or *are not*, so do not I. And I thought my *rebuking* men for it, had been no sign of pride. And, brother, I am confident, if you your self did not believe that my *understanding*, and consequently my Writings are over-valued, you would never have written this book, especially in such a stile against me: yea, in the end you profess this to be your design, to undeceive those that had a good opinion of me. If those on the *other side* had not thought the same, my late Auditors at *Kederminster* had never had so many *Sermons*, and that by persons *so high*, nor would *so many books* have been written to the same end even to cure the people of this dangerous vice, of over-valuing me. The matter of fact being so publick, invalidateth your exception.

8. The last expression of my pride is, that I give this testimony even to Christians inclined to divisions, that if they think a man speaketh not to the depressing of true and serious religion, they can bear that from him, which they cannot bear from one that they think hath a malignant end: and that on this account in my sharpest reproofs my own auditors have still been patient with me. Enquire whether this be true or not? Whether I have not preached twenty times more against Divisions, to a people that never once quarrelled with it, than I have written against it in the book with which

you

you ſo much quarrel. And is this *probatum* given againſt malignity a word of pride too?

You proceed in your Charge that [*I have great thoughts of my ſelf, and have learned little of Chriſtian or moral ingenuity, and am unfit to be a Teacher of it to others.* *Anſw.* 1. Do you not yet perceive that you alſo have a ſilencing ſpirit? when *you* and *thoſe that you ſeparate from* are *agreed*, that we are *unfit to be Teachers*, becauſe we *gainſay you*, why do you pretend ſo great a diſtance, even in the point *of imperious ſeverity*. 2. O how hard is it ſtill to know our ſelves, and what manner of ſpirit we are of. Is it *pride* in me to think that *I am righter than you* or to *expreſs it*? Why, brother, do not you think as *confidently* that *you are righter than I*? and do you not as *Confidently utter it*? I differ no further from you, than you do from me: And why is it not as much ſign of pride in you, to think you know more than I, as in me to think that I know more (in this) than you? The truth is, *Pride is not a true valuing*, but an *over-valuing our ſelves*, and *our own underſtandings*. If either you or I be in the right, and both think our ſelves confidently to be ſo, he is the Proud perſon which ever he be, that is in the *wrong*; For it is *he* that *over-valueth* his own underſtanding. Here therefore the *Evidence* muſt decide the Caſe.

Who is to be judged Proud.

EXCEPT.

More mistakes.

EXCEPT. V. p. 3. *Answered.* Your 5th. Exception implieth more Untruths: The first is, that I did *not consider that fault of the Imposers*, which I have written in that very book so much against, and elsewhere; and before, said more against than any man that I know in *England*, This was not considerately spoken. The second is, that all or most of those that you separate from, made *tearing engines and dividing impositions*. If this be not implied you speak not to the point. But you may easily know that in all the Parish-Churches of *England*, there is not one man or woman, no not one *Minister* of very many that ever made or imposed such Engines.

The third implied untruth is, that I plead either for subscribing *Assent*, or for such Communion as cannot be had, without *subscribing Assent, to what you know is sinful; when you may joyn as far as I desire you, without subscribing any Assent at all.*

Whom we must come out from.

EXCEPT. VI. *Answered.* 1. As to the sense of 2 *Cor.* 6. 14, 15, 16. and *Rev.* 18. 6. You confess that *the Texts do directly and properly concern only Infidels and Idolaters there mentioned.* 2. You say *It belongs to others that are guilty of the same Crimes, under the name of Christians, proportionally.*

Answ. Very true; If it be not a contradiction! If any *called Christians* be *notorious Infidels*

Infidels and *Idolaters*, they are not *Chriſtians*, and ſo not fit for Chriſtian Communion. But from the Societies of ſuch we muſt flie our ſelves: But not from the ſocieties of Chriſtians, alwaies, when ſome ſuch ſhall intrude.

3. You ſay [*We are commanded ſtrictly to ſeparate from every one that is called a brother, if he be covetous, or a railer*, &c. *Anſw.* The Church, and not a private man, muſt exclude ſuch a one from Church-Communion. And you your ſelf muſt exclude him from your private familiarity; But you are not commanded to ſeparate from the Church, if they exclude him not. I am not bound to ſeparate from the Church where you are, for this Book which you have written, though I could prove it *railing*. How few ſeparated Churches know you on earth, that have *no Covetous perſon* or *railer*? Or at leaſt, where the people hold it their dutie to ſeparate from their own Church, if any Covetous perſon or railer be there?

4. You add [*that if notwithſtanding all admonition any Church will ſtill retain them, we are not to own ſuch a Church as a Spouſe of Chriſt, and therefore muſt come out of it*, &c.] *Anſw.* 1. I have in that Book proved the contrarie by abundant Scripture inſtances; And in the next exception you *your ſelf* confeſs the *primitive corruptions*, and lay the ſtreſs of your Separation only on *Impoſed Conditions of Communion*. 2. You give us no proof of this naked aſſertion. If a

Whom we muſt diſown as no Church.

Scold-

Scolding woman or a *Covetous Profeſſor* be reteined in a Church otherwiſe pure, you are not therefore bound to ſeparate, much leſs to take it for *no Church*: For that is a *true Church* which hath the true *eſſentials* of a Church: But ſo may one that reteineth a *Covetous man* or a *Scold*. *Ergo*—By your rule, you muſt Separate not only from *Pariſh Churches*, but from moſt of the Separated Churches that ever I was acquainted with.

I find no particular Church called *A Spouſe of Chriſt*, but the *univerſal* only: As a Corporation is not a *Kingdome*, but a *part of a Kingdome*.

5. Above twenty Arguments in my book for Infant Baptiſm, ſhew that you did not truly ſay, that [*the beſt argument that all learned men have ever defended it by, is the proportion it hath to Circumciſion.*

EXCEPT. VII. Anſwered. You ſay that I *impertinently recite the Corruptions* of the Scripture Churches, to prove that we are not to *ſeparate*, &c. your reaſon is [*Becauſe many Errors in Doctrine and life were formerly admitted, yet none of them were impoſed as conditions of Communion.*

The Corruption of the Scripture Churches.

Anſw. Do you not ſee that here you ſeem to deny what you ſaid ſo confidently in the laſt Exception? There you ſay, *We muſt come out, if they will receive ſuch for members after all admonition, and retein them.*

Here

Here you ſeem plainlie to yield that up, and to lay all on *impoſed Conditions* of Communion, as if elſe you could communicate with Churches ſo corrupt. You can bear your *own contradiction* better than *mine*.

2. What is impoſed on *you* as a condition to your Communion in the Doctrine and Prayers of the Pariſh Churches, but your *actual Communion* it ſelf? If you will ſay, that their *bad Miniſter*, and their *imperfect form*, is impoſed as a Condition, becauſe *you muſt be preſent*; ſo they may ſay, that *you* alſo impoſe your *imperfect manner* and *expreſſions* on *them*, as Conditions of their Communion in *your* Churches: And thus you are all Impoſers.

EXCEPT. VIII. Anſwered. Firſt you ſay I ſaid that I [*met with* many *Conſcientious Profeſſors*, &c. That's your fifth untruth: I ſaid no ſuch thing, but only [many *Cenſorious* profeſſors.] 5 *Untruth.*

2. You ſay, *It is hardly poſſible to believe it.* But that is poſſible to men that uſe to be more careful of ſpeaking truth themſelves, and that are acquainted with the people of *England*, by ſuch means as Conference, which is *hardly poſſible* to others.

3. You ask [*Ought not ſuch things to be concealed.*] And you abuſe Scripture to confirm it. But, 1. Are you not here partial? Is it your judgement that we ſhould conceal the faults or ignorance, or errors of the Biſhops, Of concealing the faults of Dividers.

Of concealing the faults of Dividers.

ſhops, Conformiſts, and Pariſh members? Or be they not commonly multiplied and aggravated? And yet, muſt the *Separatiſts* ignorance and error be concealed.

2. Do you deſire *their Repentance and humiliation* whoſe faults you would have concealed? And do you imitate *Nehemiah* and others of Gods Servants, that uſe to Confeſs the ſins of all ranks and ſorts of men?

3. Do you uſe in *publick humiliations* to *confeſs* this ignorance of Profeſſors or not? If not, what a kind of humiliation do you make? If you do, do not *you publickly reveal* this ſecret.

4. How groſly are you unacquainted with *England* that take this for a *ſecret*, or for *hardly to be believed*, when we have Congregations and multitudes of ſuch, and the land * and world ringeth of them.

* Read but *Hornius* his deſcription of the Engliſh Sects, Eccleſ. Hiſt. and ſee what ſtrangers think of us.

5. Do you not thus harden them that charge us with *factiouſneſs*, when you ſhew your ſelf ſo ſolicitous for the Concealment of the ignorance of your party, while you have no ſuch care for others?

4. But it is your ſixth *Untruth* in point of *fact*, when you ſay (with ſcorn) [*Are not we Commanded not to reveal the ſecret of another, which pious and prudent Mr.* Baxter *hath not ſcrupled to ſin againſt*, &c. Prov. 25. 9.]

Of my revealing Secrets.

As you abuſe the text, which ſpeaketh of an individual perſon, who is ſuppoſed to be hereby injured, becauſe known, ſo you ſpeak untru-

untruly in saying *I revealed anothers secrets*; For to pass by, that I reveal not the *persons*, who are still *unknown*, it is not true that they were *secrets*! When I disputed almost all day with such (both Souldiers and others) in the publick Church at *Amersham* above 20 years ago, was that a *secret*, which they so fiercely proclaimed? When I disputed daily almost with such in *Cromwell*'s Army, was that a secret? When I disputed with Mr. *Brown* (an Army Chaplain) and his adherents for the Godhead of Christ, in a publick Church at *Worcester*, was that a *secret*? When I disputed in the publick Church at *Kidderminster* with the *Quakers*, was that a *secret*? When the said Quakers, and many other Sects, have come to my house, and have oft assaulted me in many other places openly, and vented their ignorance with fierce revilings and raging confidence, was that a secret? When I have openly Catechized men, was that a *secret*? Do not all sound Protestants believe that they are fundamentals which our *Quakers* commonly contradict, and are ignorant of, especially *Foxes* party, whom *Smith* and Major *Cobbet* accuse to deny Christ and the Resurrection, &c. And are there not *Assemblies* of such in *London*? And do not many turn to them of late? And is that a secret which their books and their assemblies tell the World? Who is it now that *is put to shame*?

EXCEPT,

EXCEPT. IX. Answered. I must now answer for what I say against the Papists too. I Confess they are *separatists* or *recusants* too. But lets hear the Charge? You say [*They are very unweighed and rash words, when he* saies [*Shew me in Scripture or in Church history that either there ever was* de facto, *or ought to be* de jure *such a thing in the World, as the Papists call the Church, and I profess I will immediately turn Papist*;] *We think none can write thus, but declares a great unsteadiness in his Religion; for none that knoweth Church history but can prove that such a Church as the Romane, hath been neer* 1300 *years actually in being.*

Answ. 1. My foregoing words are these, [*The Pope hath feigned another thing, and called it the Church*, that is, *The Universality of Christians headed by himself: Whereas* 1. *God never instituted or allowed such a Church.* 2. *Nor did ever the Universality of Christians acknowledge this usurping head.*

Now when you say there hath been [*such a Church as the Romane*] either you mean what I denied | *such a Church as they claim and feign*] and I described; Or only [*such a Church as they are, which is another thing.*] If the later, why will you grosly abuse your Reader by such a deceit, which tendeth to tempt him unto Poperie? What's that to my words which you seem to contradict? But if you mean the former, and indeed contradict me, then 1. You prevaricate in befriend-

befriending Popery. 2. You here ſet down three more *Untruths* in matter of fact; 1. That there hath been neer 1300 years (or ever was) ſuch a Church; that is, that the *Univerſality of Chriſtians did acknowledge the Pope for the Univerſal Conſtitutive and Governing Head.* 2. *That there is none that knoweth Church hiſtory but can prove this.* 3. *That they are very unweighed words*, in which I aſſert what I did. 7 *Untruth.* 8 *Untruth.* 9 *Untruth.*

The Cauſe of Popery tried.

And all this I have given the World full proof of, in my Diſpute againſt Mr. *Johnſon* the Papiſt, of the Viſibility of the Church. Had I not *weighed* the words, I had not ſo many years ago ſo largely proved and maintained them.. And I have there fully proved, that the Romane Church was only *Imperial*, or of the *Empire* (and the Countreys that after fell from the Empire) ſuch as we call *national*, becauſe under one Prince. That *de facto*, the Perſians, the Abaſſines, Indians, part of *Armenia*, and many other Churches or Chriſtians, never acknowledged him their Conſtitutive or Governing Head; that the Emperors who called the General Councils had nothing to do with the ſubjects of other Princes, nor uſed to call them: That the General Councils conſiſted only of the ſubjects of the Empire, (and thoſe that had been of the Empire,) except one *Johannes Perſidis*, and one or two more inconſiderable perſons, that no account can be given of, who they were, or how they came thither. *Godignus* himſelf

will tell you enough of the Abiſſines. All the Papiſts in the World are never able to anſwer this publick Evidence of fact, with any ſenſe.

Of Mr. *Johnſon*'s Reply to my Book.

Mr. *Johnſon*'s Reply I take not to be worthy of an Anſwer with any man that can make uſe of an anſwer; when his ſhift is ſo groſs as to inſtance in the Biſhops of *Thracia* as out of the Empire, and ſuch as they, which every novice in hiſtory and Geographie can Confute. Unleſs I was Confuted in *London* at a publick Play, where (that you may ſee who influenceth them) a Tutor in Geographie was (as I am credibly informed) brought in telling his Pupill, that *Preſter John's Countrey* of *Abaſſia* was of the *ſame Latitude with a place in* Worceſter-ſhire *called* Kederminſter.]

Now ſeeing reaſon forbiddeth me to interpret you as ſpeaking of the Church of *Rome* as a *Sect* or *Party*, when I ſpake of it, as the *Univerſality* of *Chriſtians headed by the Pope* (your Context ſhewing, that it is my words that you gainſay,) therefore I muſt number theſe three alſo with the reſt of your untruths.

You adde [*We wonder that any Proteſtant ſhould be found, though but by the by equaling of Church hiſtory to Scripture, as if the uncertain tradition of the one, were to be as much accounted of and followed as the Divine and infallible Revelation of the other.*]

Anſw. 1. Becauſe this wonder plainly containeth an affirmation that I do ſo, I muſt ſay

ſay that it is your tenth untruth: Prove ſuch a word if you are able. 10 *Untruth.*

2. It is not true that this Hiſtorie is uncertain (though not to be equalled with Scripture.) Is the Caſe of a vaſt Empire of *Æthiopia* (as big yet after the decay ſaith *Brierwood*, as *Germany*, *Italy*, *France* and *Spain*) uncertain, when the World knoweth that they have not had ſo much as Converſe with the Pope, and at *Oviedos* attempt did not know who he was? And ſo of *Perſia*, *India*, &c.

If you will needs be ſo much wiſer than your neighbours as to prove all hiſtorie uncertain, even that there was a *Cæſar*, or a *William* the Conqueror. 1. While you betriend the Papiſts in this one point, you will incommodate them in others, 2. And you will promote Infidelitie, by making that hiſtorie uncertain by which we know the Canonical books of Scripture, and that they are delivered down to us the ſame and uncorrupt.

When I had given in few words, a full and plain anſwer to the Papiſts about our ſeparation from their Church, and remembred how many Volumes they have troubled the World with, by obſcuring our plain and ordinarie anſwer, I told them, that muſt have Volumes to hide the ſenſe, that if *this anſwer ſeem not plain and full to them, it is becauſe they underſtand not Chriſtian ſenſe and reaſon*; and not for want of *plaineſs* in the matter, or through *defectiveneſs* as to ſatisfie

Whether it be intollerable Pride to ſay that the Papiſts underſtand not Chriſtian ſenſe and reaſon.

he a reasonable impartial man. This, brother, chargeth this saying, to be [*insolent*, and from *intolerable Pride*] because *I dare so Charge another with want of Christian sense and reason*, &c.

11 *Untruth.* *Answ.* 1. This is his eleventh untruth. I only named *sense* and *reason* objectively, not subjectively. It is *not because* the Answer which I give the Papists (and which Protestants commonly give) is not full and plain, or wanteth *sense* or *reason*, but because the Papists *understand it not*. He that hath *sense* and *reason* may be hindred from using it aright, by interest, partialitie, and wilful negligences which it is no new thing for Protestants to think that Papists are too oft guilty of. But how *proud* am I then, intolerably *proud* that in several books have maintained that all Papists that hold Transubstantiation, do make it an Article of Faith, and necessarie to Salvation, flatly to contradict all the senses of all the sound men in the World, that shall judge whether bread be bread, and wine be wine? How much more *insolent* a Charge is this? But, brother, Popish absurdities have need of a better defence, than to call *the* adversarie *insolent and proud*.

2. And is the thing I say true or false? I prove it true. *The Answer of the Protestants about* Luther's *Reformation which I give, is Christian Sense and Reason*: *But the Papists or any that deny it seriously, and take it not to be plain and full understand it not*: *Ergo* they under-

underſtand not Chriſtian ſenſe and reaſon.

That is, In this: For I never ſaid that they underſtand not Chriſtian Senſe and Reaſon, in *any other thing*, nor is there the leaſt appearance of ſuch a ſenſe. Now if this, brother, will deny either of the premiſes, he may expect an anſwer. Till then I adde.

3. Are not you, brother, by your own cenſure notoriouſly *inſolent* and *intolerably proud*, if this hold good, as well as I? Do you not take all that you ſay againſt me (or ſome part at leaſt) to be plain and full, and to be *Chriſtian ſenſe and reaſon*? And do you not ſuppoſe me to think otherwiſe of it? And do you not think that this is becauſe I underſtand it not? Thus ſome mens hands do beat themſelves.

4. And do you not implicitly charge all or moſt Proteſtant Writers with *inſolence* and *intolerable pride* as well as me? Do they not all think their reaſons againſt the Papiſts *plain* and *full* (at leaſt ſome of them:) And do they not think that the Papiſts denie them becauſe they underſtand not the Chriſtian Senſe and Reaſon which is in them.

5. And have not all mankind a deficiencie of underſtanding? And is it pride and inſolence to ſay ſo?

6. But judge of your own ſpirit by your own rule; Do not you think thoſe that you before charged with perſecution, and making our dividing engines, and whoſe

Communion you think it a duty to avoid, to be such as *understand not Christian sense and reason* in the arguings which I and others have used against them? And is it not as lawful to think so of the Papists?

EXCEPT. X. *Answered.* I used the phrase of [*Local presential Communion*] in Contradistinction, 1. To the Catholick Communion of persons absent, which is by *Faith* and *Love*, 2. And the Communion by *Delegates* and *Representatives*: And our brother here, 1. Calleth this phrase [*insignificant Jargon,*] which was not said through any redundancy of *Sense* and *Reason* above others; Nor do I acknowledge his authoritie in the sentence without his reason.

2. He saith [*Unlawful terms are imposed on us* | *Answ.* Brother, Do you think men must trust their souls on your naked word? Where in all this book have you done any thing, that with an impartial understanding can go for proof, that [*in all the Parish Churches of* England *that use the* Liturgie, *that is imposed as a Condition of our Communion in* hearing *or* praying, *which it is not lawful sometimes to do?*] Answer this, as to Mr. *Nie* about hearing, and to *me* about *Praying*; if you can? and do not nakedly affirm.

3. You say you do not [*so much separate as forbear Communion*] and your reason is [*for*

[*for we were never of them.*] *Anſw.* I take you for a Chriſtian and a Proteſtant: Are you not ſo far of us? Is not a member of the ſame Univerſal Church of Chriſt, obliged to hold Communion, as he hath a ſpecial Call or occaſion, with more Churches than that particular one which he ordinarily joyneth with? If you purpoſely avoided and denied Communion with all the Independent Churches in *England* ſave one, and wrote to prove it unlawful, I think this were a ſeparating from them, as they are parts of the Church Univerſal that are neer you. Of Separation.

EXCEPT. XI. *Anſwered.* 1. The word *Sect* (though oft taken but for one party in a diviſion) was not by me applied to all the names before going, but to the laſt named only, and ſuch other. 2. I ſpake nothing at all of the truth or falſhood of the Cenſurers words, but of the requitals that Cenſurers have by other mens Cenſures, which may be ſharp and paſſionate, and a rebuke to the Cenſured, and modally Culpable, when the words are true. Yet I am content to undergo the Cenſure you here caſt out of me, rather than to cenſure, that *a Papiſt cannot go beyond a reprobate*, unleſs you do, (as Mr. *Perkins* doth, to make it good,) be ſo charitable to all the millions elſe among them, as not to call them *Papiſts*, except they practically hold the moſt pernicious Of Cenſuring Papiſts.

nicious opinions of their Councils and Divines. I confeſs I affect none of the honour of that Orthodoxneſs, which conſiſteth in ſentencing millions and Kingdoms to Hell, whom I am unacquainted with.

EXCEPT. XII. *Anſwered.* Here we have firſt a meer magiſterial dictate without proof, that I ſpeak [*triflingly*] *about Scandal, and ſhew how little I underſtand it.* But where's his reaſon or Confutation? 2. Why all is but this [Paul *would not eate fleſh rather than he would offend his weak brother*, &c.] Judge, Reader, whether the bare citing of theſe words be any proof, that in Scripture, *Scandal* is not taken more for *tempting, enſnaring, and laying before men an occaſion of ſtumbling, or ſinning*, than for *meer diſpleaſing men*, which is the thing that I affirmed.

Of *Pauls* not ſcandalizing the weak.

I know that Expoſitors much differ about the weak brother here deſcribed, but not in the point that I now urge the text for.

But, ſure Brother, if you ſoberly review it, you will find that you deal very hardly with the Scripture and the ſouls of men. Firſt the word [σκανδαλίζει] which our Tranſlators turn [*make to offend*] you read [*offend*] inſtead of *ſcandalize*; And 2. You bring a text againſt the truth which I aſſert, which is as plain for it as can well be ſpoken. The whole Chapter ſhewing, that [*the weake brother*] that *Paul* ſpeaketh of, was one that [*with Conſcience of the Idol, did eate it as a thing offered to an Idol, and their Conſcience being weak was defiled*, ver. 7. 9. And

it

it is one whose *Conscience is emboldened (or confirmed) to eate those things which are offered to idols, and thereby he may perish*, ver. 10, 11.

And it is he that is (not displeased) but *made to offend*. And the *scandalizing* which *Paul* would avoid is called [*becoming a stumbling to them that are weak*, ver. 9. *Emboldening to that heinous sin*, ver. 10. *Making a brother to offend*, v. 13. twice over. Is this, think you, *displeasing the innocent*, or rather, *tempting those that are apt to sin*, and confirming the faulty.

Read what Dr. *Hammond* saith of their *weakness*, and what ἀσθενεῖν signifieth there, and then further tell me; 1. Whether you mean such weak ones that you would not have me offend? 2. Whether those that are most displeased with us for Communion in the Liturgie, be such as you will say, are most in danger of yielding to sin? 3. Whether you would do as *Paul* doth, Call those *weak brethren*, who *to that day did eate in Idols temples, and that as a thing offered to idols?* 4. Whether *Paul* commanded the Corinthians to separate from the Church, because such men were in their Communion? 5. Whether *Paul* himself in communicating with that Church, did not that which you write against? 6. Whether by this rule, we should not take heed most of scandalizing those Christians that are aptest to sin? 7. Whether this text, which you so abuse, well considered, is not sufficient against all your

your Cauſe, and for that which I maintain?

EXCEPT. XIII. p. 6. *Anſwered.* Here is nothing but, 1. His ſaying that *He may well doubt of the truth of what* I report, viz. *whether any (or many) faithful Miniſters would ſo reproach their people, and their honourable name which is upon them, as to call them pieviſh and ſelf conceited Chriſtians.*] *Anſw.* 1. Are there any ſuch Chriſtians or not? 2. If they are, ſhould their fault be healed or cheriſhed? 3. If healed, ſhould it be reproved or concealed? But I will anſwer this further anon, when it comes in again.

2. *He doubts not but thoſe that thus complained to me expected ſo much prudence and faithfulneſs in me as to conceal their Complaints*, and not *vent them now when the ſtate of affairs is ſo much altered. Anſw.* Here are two untruths implied: 1. That theſe complaints were only made in *ſecret*, with an expectation that not only the perſons, but the caſe it ſelf ſhould be concealed. But how did he know this? Might not many of them be men that ſince conform, and make the ſame complaint now openly? Yes, I could name you more than one ſuch? Might not ſome be ſuch as have done the ſame in print themſelves? Yes, Old Mr. *Rob. Abbot* was one, who after removed to *Auſtins London*, and died there, before Mr. *Aſh.* If you will

More of revealing ſecrets.

will but read his book againſt ſeparation, you will ſee that he ſilenced not ſuch matters, but hath ſaid more than ever you are able well to anſwer. 2. It is not true that theſe Complaints were only made before *the ſtate of affairs was altered*, for I have oft heard it ſince, with greater ſenſe of it than ever before. Nor is it any diſhonour to a Miniſter, not to be ignorant of Satans wiles: The more they know them, the liker they are to overcome them.

3. In his concluſion are two more miſtakes, but becauſe they are prophetical, I will not count them with the groſſeſt. The firſt is, that *he hopes that hereafter all that fear God will be very careful how they make any complaint unto a Perſon,* (The Second) *who will take the next worſt occaſion to revile a whole innocent and Godly Party by a malicious publiſhing of it:* Whereas, 1. Since the writing of his book I have had complaints againſt ſuch as he, by many that fear God; 2. And he cannot prove what he propheſieth I will do. But yet two more untruths are implied in the propheſie. 1. That I will *revile a whole Innocent, Godly ſuffering Party*, when I proteſted I meant no particular party, but thoſe of every party, Epiſcopal, Presbyterian, Independent, Anabaptiſt, &c. who through want of Love are apteſt cauſeleſly to condemn their brethren and avoid them (unleſs he will call all the *Ignorant*, *Proud*, and *Uncharitable* of all parties, by the name of a *whole Godly ſuffering party.*) 2. That *I will*

will revile them maliciously; unless he mean that writing for *Love* and *Unity* is a malicious act against Satan and his Kingdom.

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12 *Untruth.*

EXCEPT. XIV. (Hereafter I must number them, for he is weary of it) *Answered.* This hath little worthy observation, but his 12*th.* Untruth, *viz.* that [*by mentioning the separatist as a distinct body of men, from the Antinomian, Quaker, and Anabaptist, it is evident I can mean no other, but my Presbyterian and Congregational brethren*] which he follows with *An Appeal to God against this Slanderer, and earnestly prayeth that he would please to rebuke him.*

Whom I mean by Dividing; And of his Curse.

Whether this earnest prayer be a Curse? and whether it be like to that rule, to pray for them that cūrse us, and whether this brother himself doth not in these *very words* put his error into his *earnest* prayer, even in print, and so verifie what he would so vehemently gainsay (to say nothing of the Common fame in *London*, that he that is famed to be the Author of these Exceptions, kept a day of Humiliation about me and my book) I leave to the Readers observation. And also whether this earnest prayer (or *Curse*) and this bold Appeal to God, be not prophane, and rather a fruit of passion, than charitable zeal? And whether he here knew what spirit he was of?

But to his Untruth I answer, 1. I protested openly that my meaning was not what he

he affirmeth it to be; And could he know it better than I? 2. An Antinomian and Anabaptiſt as ſuch, are diſtinct from Separatiſts as ſuch: But doth it follow that therefore they may not be Separatiſts alſo that are Antinomians and Anabaptiſts? Though the Errors whence the Sects are denominated be various. 3. I have long ago in many books told the *Papiſts* that I mean *them*, as the *Chief Schiſmaticks and Sect*; and Dr. *Hide* for the firſt page of his book, what I thought of him; And the Lutherans that ſo reſiſt all the endeavours of *Dury*, *Calixtus*, *Bergius*, *Lud. Crocius*, and many more, in refuſing Communion with the Calviniſts, that I mean *them*; And here I profeſs that I mean no other party of men at all, but the *Dividers of all parties* whatſoever, even in the beginning of my Preface; And yet, alas, brother, did you not tremble firſt to publiſh ſo groſs an Untruth, and when you had done, to ground your Appeal to God, and *earneſt prayer againſt me*, upon it? The Lord give you a meeker ſpirit, and a tenderer conſcience.

And that I mean not an Independent as ſuch (for the Presbyterians will not ſuſpect me) I will ſtop your mouth with this ſufficient proof, 1. That the chief Independants have written excellently againſt ſeparation, as Mr. *Jacob* by name; And they pretend that Mr. *Bradſhaw* and Dr. *Ames* were Independants. 2. That I rejoyce in the ſtate of the Churches of *New England*, ſince

since the Synods Concessions there, and good Mr. *Eliots* propositions for Synodical constant Council and Communion of Churches, as much as in any Churches State that I hear of in the World, (Though as to the form of Government, my judgement most agrees with the Waldenses, or Bohemian, published by *Lascitius* and *Commenius*,) especially since the Magistrates late printed Order, that all the Ministers shall take especial care to Catechize and personally instruct all the people under their Charge, even from house to house; at least 3 or 4 Families meeting together, &c. which I much rejoice in. It is evident then, that though a man may be a *Divider*, that is Episcopal, Presbyterian, Independant or Anabaptist, yet *as such* as their denominations signifie, I mean none of them; for many of all *these names* are *no Dividers* (though a *Papist* is so by the *essence of his Religion*, un-churching all beside his Sect.)

And if you had done me but common justice, you would have noted, that in my scheme in the end, the second Proposition of the way of Love which I plead for is in these words; | *Love your neighbours as your selves: Receive those that Christ receiveth, and that hold the necessaries of Communion, be they Episcopal, Presbyterian, Independants, Anabaptists, Arminians, Calvinists*, &c. *so they be not proved heretical or wicked.* | Judge now of your Truth and Charity by these evidences.

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EXCEPT. XV. p. 8. *Answered.* Here is the 13*th.* visible Untruth, He saith [*He speaks very slightly of Prayer in comparison of study, for the attaining of wisdome, calling it too cheap a way, which sheweth you how little he understandeth the nature of true Prayer,*] &c. 13 *Untruth.*

Answ. I love you the better for your zeal for the honour of Prayer, though I had rather knowledge and truth had guided it. Reader, I intreat thee to peruse my book, and if thou find there what he saith, condemn me more than he doth, and spare not. I tell those men that will do *nothing* for knowledge but *ask* for it, that [*God hath not promised you true understanding upon your prayers alone, without all the rest of his appointed means; Nor that you shall attain it by those means as soon as you desire and seek it; For then prayer would be a pretence for lazines, &c. That praying is but one of the means which God hath appointed you to come to knowledge by; Diligent reading, hearing, and meditation and Counsel of the wisest is another.*] And will any Christian deny the truth of this except the Enthusiasts? Or should any Godly Minister rise up against it? Is any of this true? 1. That I have here one word of *Comparing prayer and study?* 2. Or that I prefer study or reading, or other means before prayer? 3. Or that I speak lightly of prayer in *Comparison* of the other? 4. Or that I make prayer it self an *easie* thing? Is not this, that I call

Whether I slight prayer? And whether wisdom is to be got by prayer alone, without any other means.

call his 13*th*. Untruth, compoſed of *many*? When it is viſible, that I put prayer firſt, that I only ſay that it is *but one means*, and *not all*; and that others muſt be added; and that praying alone without other labour is too eaſie a way? What ſhould one anſwer to ſuch dealing as this? I beſeech you, brother, *preach* not the contrary whatever you think, leſt you juſtifie the ſilencers, while you blame them?

And if really you are againſt my words, ſatisfie the World by experience, how many you ever knew that came to the underſtanding but of the Articles of Faith, or the Decalogue or Catechiſm, or Chriſtianity it ſelf (that I ſay not to *your degree* of knowledge above me and ſuch as I,) by *prayer* alone, without hearing, reading, meditation, or conference. And why *Paul* bids *Timothy* give himſelf to *Reading, and meditate on theſe things, and give thy ſelf wholly to them*? And why Hearing and Preaching are ſo much urged? And whether it be any great fault to ſilence you and me and all the Preachers in the Land, if *prayer* be the *only means* of knowledge? And whether you do not before you are aware ſtill agree with them whom you moſt avoid, who cry up *Church-prayers* to cry down *Preaching*? And why you wrote this book againſt me, if your *earneſt prayers* againſt me, and the people, be the only means?

And when you have done, I can tell you of many Papiſts and others, that you your

ſelf

ſelf ſuppoſe never pray acceptably, who have come to a great deal of knowledge: Though there be no *ſanctified ſaving Knowledge* (after the firſt Converſion) without prayer. I am ſorry you put me to trouble the Reader about ſuch things as theſe.

It follows [*Neither doth* Solomon *direct to any other way principally*, &c.] *Anſw.* Did I ſpeak one word of the *principality*, or which was the principal way? Did I not put *prayer* firſt, and other means next? This is not well, brother; Truth beſeemeth our Calling, and our work. And yet he that ſaid, *I was found of them that ſought me not*, (in my opinion, which yet expecteth your reproach) doth give ſo much knowledge as is neceſſary to mens firſt faith and repentance and converſion by the hearing or reading, or conſidering of his word, ordinarily to them that never firſt asked it by *ſincere prayer*; For I think that *Faith* goeth before a *believing prayer*.

You adde [*We cannot but wonder that any dares ſo expreſly go againſt the very letter of Scripture*, --- *but that we have done with wondering at Mr.* Baxter's *boldneſs*.

Anſw. This I may well put as your 14*th.* Untruth. Reader, try if you can find one ſyllable of what he ſpeaks in all my book? Doth he that ſaith [*prayer is but one of the means*] contradict the letter of *Jam.* 1. 5. *If any man lack wiſdome, let him ask it of God?* O how hard is it to know what ſpirit we are of? That a man ſhould go on in ſuch deal- 14 *Untruth.*

ing as this? and make his own fictions the ground of such tragical exclamations when he hath done? Yea, he proceed.

For what follows in justification of his unwarrantable conceit exceeds all bounds of sobriety, --- whither will not Pride and overweening carry a man? He that had so trampled upon his brethren without any regard to their innocency or sufferings, now speaks but slightly of our Lord Christ himself.

Answ. Your anger I pass by; I like you the better for speaking against *Pride*: For by that you shew that you love it not under that name. But still *How hard is it to know our selves?*

I am sorry, 1. That you are so *sore and tender* as to account it *trampling* on you, to be intreated to *Love your brethren*, and not *to divide the Church of God*. 2. And that you say, *He regardeth not your sufferings*, who suffereth with you, and writeth so much as that book containeth against your sufferings. 3. And that you should call that your *Innocency*, which I have proved so largely to be against the *new and great Commandement*, and when you make so poor an answer to the proof.

I might number these with your Untruths, but that I will choose out the grosser
15. *Untruth.* sort; such as is the next (15*th.* Untruth) that *I speak slightly of Christ*. Is it slighting Christ to speak the words and undenied truth of Scripture? Two things I say of Christ; 1. That *he increased in wisdom in his*

his youth? Do you not believe that to be true? Surely Mr *Jeanes* in all his writings against Dr. *Hammond* of that point, did never deny it. 2. *That he would not enter upon his publick Ministry till he was about* 30 *years of age*? Do you not believe that also? What then is here that is a slighting of Christ? The reason of this later which I humbly conjecture at (and elsewhere expres) is, that he might be an example to young men, not to venture and enter too early upon the Ministry. The reason you alledge from *Num.* 4. 2, 3. I gainsay not, though I think it far fetcht (that Christ must not enter sooner upon his publick Ministry in his extraordinary office, because the sons of *Caath* were numbred from 30 years to 50.) But you insinuate another untruth, yea *expres* it while you flatly say, I insinuate, that Christ staid till 30 *years old, that he might be more perfect in wisdome*: I had no such word or thought. My following words [*It had been easier for Christ to have got all knowledge by two or three earnest prayers than for any of us*] refer only to the first clause, (of his growth in wisdom) and not at all to the later (of the time of his Ministry.)

Whether I speak slightly of Christ?

How Christ increased in wisdom.

But you deny that *Christ had any addition of wisdom, except as to manifestation*, I believe Gods word! And with others he will be as pardonable that believeth it, as he that denyeth it. I did not expound it: But if I must, I will. I think that according to the present frame of humane nature, the in-

corporate ſoul receiveth the ſeveral objects it muſt know *ab extra*, by the fantaſie, and that by the ſenſes, and that our acts of knowing exterior things are as Philoſophers affirm, objectively organical, though not *efficiently* and *formally*, that is, that the Intromiſſion by the ſenſes and phantaſie, is neceſſary to the right ſtating of the object. And therefore that in all thoſe acts of Knowledge which Chriſt exerciſed as other men do, 1. The Object, 2. The Organical capacity and aptitude of the body were neceſſary (not to the perfection of his humane ſoul, in Eſſence, Power, Virtue, Inclination, Diſpoſition, but only to the Act of *Knowing*. And ſo I think Chriſt when new born knew not *actually* as a man, all that he after knew; no, nor long after; And that he increaſed in *Actual* knowledge, 1. As *Objects* were preſented, 2. And as the Organs increaſed in Capacity and aptitude, and not otherwiſe. Yet I believe that Chriſt prayed before his *Organs* and actual knowledge were at the higheſt, and that he could (had it been his Fathers will and his own) by prayer have ſuddenly attained their perfection; and that *Culpable imperfection* he never had any, nor ſuch as is the *effect of ſin* in *Infants* now. If this be an error, help me out of it by fitter means than reviling.

You adde that Chriſt *needed not prayer for himſelf, but as a pattern to us*, &c. *Anſw.* Chriſt had no *Culpable need*, nor *as God* any *natural need*. But, brother, take heed of the Com-

Common error of them that think they can never ſay too much or do too much, when they are once engaged; for this is but undoing. 1. Do you think that Chriſts humane nature was not a Creature? 2. Do you think that all Creatures are not *Dependant* on the Creator? and need him not? 3. Do you think Chriſts humane nature *needed* not Divine ſuſtentation in exiſtence, life, and motion, and Divine influx or Communication hereunto, ſeeing that in God we *live, and move, and be*? 4. Do you think that Chriſts body needed not created means? as the earth, the air meat and drink, and ſleep and reſt? And that he needed not drink, when it is ſaid, he thirſted, *Joh.* 19. 28. *I thirſt.* And *Joh.* 4. 6. [being *wearied with his journey*, &c. ver. 7. *Give me to drink.*] Whether he needed not cloathing, and needed not ordinary bodily ſupplies, when it is ſaid, that ſome *miniſtred to him of their ſubſtance*, Luke 8. 3. As our Father knoweth that *we have need of all theſe things*, Mat. 6. 8. 32. So I think that Chriſts humane nature needed them; and that he gave not thanks at meat for his Diſciples only; and that he bid them ſpeak nothing but the truth, when he ſaid *Mat.* 21. 3. *Mar.* 11. 3. *Luke* 19. 31. *The Lord hath need of him.* And that it was for *himſelf* that he prayed three times that the cup might paſs, if, &c. (though for our inſtruction) *Luke* 22. 44. *Matt.* 26. 42. 44. *Heb.* 5. 7. *Who in the dayes of his fleſh, when he had offered up prayers and ſupplications*

Whether Chriſt needed Prayer for himſelf.

with ſtrong crying and tears unto him that was able to ſave him from death, and was heard in that he feared; though he was a ſon, yet learned he obedience by the things which he ſuffered, and being made perfect, &c.] I believe that when he was on the Croſs he needed deliverance, and when his body was in the grave it needed the Divine power for to effect his reſurrection. And how a man would have been formerly judged of that had denyed any of this. You may learn by the ſeverities of many Councils againſt the Eutychians, Neſtorians, Monothelites, &c.

I am ſo *regardful* of *your ſufferings* that I would not put your *mind* to any needleſs grief; But yet I heartily wiſh your Repentance, not only for your errors, but that you ſhould let out your (unknown) ſpirit to ſuch vehemency in your revilings upon ſuch pittiful grounds, as when you adde [*So that to ſpeak ſo leſſeningly of Prayer and Chriſt, to undervalue ſo much the unſpeakable uſefulneſs the of one, and the incomprehenſible Majeſty of the other, becomes very well the ſpirit that Mr. Baxter writes with.*] This is but a repetition of untruths.

EXCEPT. XVI. p. 9. *Anſwered.* Having *Dir.* 27. given five proofs by which I knew many to be miſtaken that expound Texts of Scripture, by the Impreſſions on their own ſpirits, I ſaid *Dir.* 28. [*It is very ordinary with poor fanciful women and melancholy*

choly perſons, to take all deep apprehenſions for revelations; and if a Text come into their minds, to ſay, —This text was brought to my mind, and ſet upon my ſpirit, as if nothing could bring a text to their minds but ſome extraordinary motion of God? and as if this bringing it to their mind, would warrant their expoſition.] Whereupon I adviſe men to know the neceſſity of the ſpirits ordinary ſanctifying work, and not to *deſpiſe* mens pretences of revelation; but yet to believe none *againſt Scripture*. As to the ground of this paſſage, it is ſuch as is not diſputable with me, being matter of ſenſe; (ſo impoſſible is it for me to eſcape all the heinous accuſations of this brother.) It is not many years ſince I have had ſeveral perſons with me (two or three out of one County) that brought me books written for the Preſs, and urged me to procure them printed and ſhewed to the King, in which were abundance of Scriptures abuſed to many daring predictions of things preſently to come to paſs, and all upon pretence of Viſions and Revelations, and the *ſetting* of ſuch an expoſition *on their hearts*: And the men were ignorant, melancholy, and crazed perſons, and the Scriptures almoſt all falſly interpreted, and the predictions fail. And all of them had the fifth Monarchy notion without conference (that I could learn) with any about it.

Of melancholy miſinterpretations of Scripture.

When I lived in *Coventrey*, Major *Wilkies* a Learned Scot, lived in the houſe with me,

who profeſſed to have lived many years in a Courſe of Viſions and Revelations, and had abundance of Texts ſet upon his heart, and expounded to him by Viſion, moſt for the Millenary way, and for Prophecies about our times and changes, (and ſome againſt preciſeneſs) many of his expoſitions were conſiderable: ſome palpably falſe: ſome of his predictions came to paſs, and ſome proved falſe: He was of a hot melancholy temper, and as I heard, after diſtracted.

If this brother had known how many (if not many ſcore) of deeply melancholy perſons have been with me, that have had ſome of them prophecies, moſt of them almoſt in deſperation, and ſome of them comforted by ſuch or ſuch a Text, *brought to their mind*, which was of a quite different ſenſe, and impertinent to that which they fetcht from it, and ſome of their Collections contrary to the reſt; he would take heed of doing Gods ſpirit ſo much wrong as to father poor crazed peoples deliriations on it? And this is as common, I think, among the Papiſts themſelves, that meddle leſs with Scripture than we do: What abundance of Books be there, of the phantaſmes of their Fryers and Nuns, as Prophecies, Viſions, and Revelations, which the judicious Reader may perceive are but the effects of melancholy and hyſterical paſſions, improved by ignorant or deceitful Prieſts.

But what is the Charge againſt me here? Why, he ſaith [*He calls them poor* fanciful *women*,

women, and melancholy perſons, that ordinarily receive comfort by ſuggeſted *Texts of Scripture.*]

Anſw. This is the *16th. viſible Untruth.* Indeed here are are two groſs untruths together. 1. He changeth the *ſubject* into the *predicate*, and then affirmeth me ſo to have ſpoken. I ſaid [*It is ordinary for ſuch fanciful and melancholy perſons, to take deep apprehenſions for Revelations, and if a Text come into their mind, to think it is by an extraordinary motion of the ſpirit.* And he feigneth me to ſay, that *they that ordinarily receive comfort by ſuggeſted texts are melancholy.* Is it all one to ſay, *It is ordinary for melancholy perſons to pray, to fear, to erre,* &c. And, [*They that ordinarily pray, fear, erre, are melancholy.*] Again, Brother, this is not well. 16 *Untruth.*

2. He feigneth me to ſpeak of them that [*ordinarily receive Comfort*] when I have no ſuch word, but ſpeak of them that would draw others into error and ſeparation by confident aſſerting falſe expoſitions of Scripture as ſet on their mind by revelrtion from the ſpirit. This is not well neither.

He addeth [*If this be not to ſit in the Chair of Scorners, what is?*] This needeth no anſwer.

[*For* (ſaith he) *is not this the very language of holy men*; *Anſw.* Alas, brother, how impertinent is your queſtion? The queſtion is, *Whether this be the language of no melancholy perſon? or of none but holy men?* and that

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as holy? Is it not the language of many a Popish Nun and Fryer that pretend to Revelation? Have not I heard it with these ears from multitudes in melancholy and other weakness that have perverted the Texts which they alledged? Have I not read it many books of *Experiences*? Is he a scorner that saith, that a man may speak the same words mistakingly in melancholy which another speaketh truly? Do you well, brother, to trouble the World at this rate of discourse? For charges on me, I pass them by. And for his saying that the bare recital of their usual words is fitter for a *Jester than a judicious Divine*, and when he hath done, to be so angry that they be not all ascribed to Gods spirit, I will not denominate such passages as they deserve, lest I offend him.

Lest you deny belief to me, I intreat you and the Reader to get and read a book published by Mr. *Brown* (as is uncontrolledly affirmed, who lately wrote against Mr. *Lombes* against the lawfulness of Communion in the Parish Churches) concerning the experiences and strange work of God on a Gentlewoman in *Worcester* (whom I will not name, because yet living, and God may recover her, but is there well known.) This Gentlewoman having been long vain, and a constant neglecter of publick worship, was suddenly moved to go into the Church while I was there preaching (on *Rom.6.21.*) The very Text struck her to the heart; but

before

before the Sermon was done ſhe could hardly forbear crying out in the Congregation: She went home a changed perſon; reſolved for a holy life. But her affection (or paſſion) being ſtrong, and her nature *tender*, and her knowledge *ſmall* ſhe quickly thought that the Quakers lived ſtrictlier than we, and fell in among them. At laſt perceiving them vilifie the Miniſtry and the Scripture, her heart ſmote her, and ſhe forſook them, as ſpeaking againſt that which by experience ſhe had found to do her good; And deſiring to ſpeak with me (who lived far off,) opened this much to me. But all theſe deep workings and troubles *between* the ſeveral waies, did ſo affect her, that ſhe fell into a very ſtrong melancholy; Inſomuch that ſhe impoſed ſuch an abſtinence from meat upon her ſelf, that ſhe was much conſumed, and ſo debilitated as to keep her bed, and almoſt famiſhed. Mr. *Brown* (and others) were her inſtructers, who were very zealous for the way called *The Fifth Monarchy*, and having inſtructed her in thoſe opinions, publiſhed the whole ſtory in print (which elſe I would not have mentioned) I ſhall ſay nothing of any thing which is otherwiſe known, but deſire the Reader that doth but underſtand what melancholy is, better than the Writers did, to read that book, and obſerve with ſorrow and pitty, what a number of plain effects of Melancholy, as to *thoughts*, and *Scriptures*, and *actions*, are there aſcribed to *meer Temptations* on one

ſide,

ſide, and to *Gods unuſual* or *notable operations* on the other ſide! In the end he ſaith [*And indeed when a ſoul oppreſſed with ſorrow before, ſhall ſuddenly find eaſe, by having ſome Scripture brought to their mind which before they thought not of: if this be not the ſpirits work as a Comforter, we ſhall be alwaies doubtful how and when he performeth that office; which way of Doubting Mr.* Baxter's *Divinity leads into, which ſufficiently ſhews, it is not of God: For God calls us to hope perfectly, and to rejoyce in the hope.*

Anſw. The Divinity which I think true and ſound, doth teach Enthuſiaſts, whether Fryers or Nuns, or any ſuch Phanatick, not to believe every ſpirit, but to try the ſpirits whether they be of God; And to believe that Satan can transform himſelf into an Angel of Light; And to doubt whether their ſuggeſtions, revelations or prophecies be of God, till it be true and ſure: For inſtance, I would have had your fellow priſoner have doubted of his three after mentioned prophecies uttered in the Pulpit, as from the ſpirit of God (*That we ſhould have no more King, Tythes, or Taxes:*) Be not angry with me for giving you ſuch inſtances; It is only to ſave others from wronging the Holy Ghoſt, and expoſing Religion to profane mens ſcorn. And I would not have one turn Anabaptiſt, if in their ſorrow or muſing that Text ſhould be ſet upon their mind, *Act.* 22. 16. *Why tarrieſt thou, ariſe and be baptized, and waſh away thy ſins.*] Nor would

would I have another turn Papiſt, if that Text be ſet upon his heart, *Act. 9. 6. Ariſe and go into the City, and it ſhall be told thee what thou muſt do*: And if it be a Popiſh Prieſt that he firſt meeteth with, and thinketh that this is the man that muſt inform him.

I would not have a member of any Church, upon an inſufficient reaſon ſeparate from it, if that Text be ſet upon his heart, *Come out of her my people*, &c. Or 2 Cor. 6. 17. *Come out from among them, and be ye ſeparate*, &c.

Nor would I have an Hypocrite or ungodly perſon conclude himſelf to be ſincere, if that Text do ſuddenly come into his mind (how affectingly ſoever) *Joh*, 1. 47. *Behold an Iſraelite indeed in whom is no guile.*

Nor would I have an upright doubting Chriſtian conclude himſelf an Hypocrite if that text come into his mind, *Act.* 8. *Thy heart is not right in the ſight of God*, &c. I think that there is ſomewhat elſe beſides the ſudden coming into our minds, and the deepeſt affecting of us, that is neceſſary to prove the true meaning of a Text, and the ſoundneſs of our *Concluſions* from it. And yet I never doubted but that the ſpirit doth both cauſe our comfort, and our reſolutions and other gracious effects, by bringing forgotten Texts to our remembrance.

But the way that I think the ſpirit cureth our doubting by, is all theſe things following

ing ſet together. 1. Suppoſing that he hath infallibly guided the writers of the Scripture. 2. And hath ſet to it the infallible ſeal of God (which is the Impreſs of his *Power*, *Wiſdome*, and *Goodneſs*.) 3. And that he helpeth Miniſters to preach this Goſpel to us. 4. He next doth help us to *Remember*, and to *Underſtand* it; And no falſe expoſition is from the ſpirit of God: And he hath left us ſufficient means to diſcern (as far as is neceſſary to our Salvation and our Comfort) whether it be rightly interpreted or not. 5. And he helpeth us firmly to believe the Truth of it: And of the unſeen Glory which it promiſeth. 6. And hereby he kindleth in us *Repentance*, *Hope*, and *Love*, and reneweth both ſoul and life to the Image of God, and the example of Jeſus Chriſt. 7. And then he helpeth us to *Act* or *Exerciſe* all this Grace. 8. And he helpeth us to *diſcern* the *ſincerity* of it: And And ſo by the *ſpirit* we know that we have the *ſpirit*, and have the witneſs of Chriſt, and the ſeal of God, and the pledge, earneſt, and firſt fruits of eternal life within us, whileſt the ſpirit doth make known himſelf to be in us. And all true ſigns of *Sanctification*, or the *Divine nature* in us, are ſigns of this in-dwelling ſealing *ſpirit*: But ſo are not the ſudden paſſions, and fancies, and change of parties, ſides, or by opinions, or ſtrong conceits unproved, from whence ſome uſe to fetch their comforts. 9. And next he helpeth us hereupon to make a true

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application of the promiſe of Juſtification and Salvation to our ſelves: Having before *applied* or received it by *Faith* and *Conſent*, and being *Juſtified*, he helpeth us to apply it to our *Aſſurance* and ſetled *Hope* and *Comfort*; and to argue, *There is no Condemnation to them that are in Chriſt Jeſus, that walk not after the fleſh but after the ſpirit: But I am in Chriſt Jeſus, and I walk not after the fleſh but after the ſpirit; Therefore there is no condemnation to me.* 10. Next the ſame ſpirit exciteth actual *Hope* and *Joy* in the ſoul, by the ſaid application of the promiſe; that we ſhall not only *conclude* from it, that we have pardon and right to Heaven in Jeſus Chriſt, but alſo ſhall have the *Will and Affections* duly moved with that Concluſion. 11. And the ſame ſpirit helpeth us to anſwer all the falſe Cavils of Satan, the World, or our miſgiving hearts, which riſe up againſt this hope and Comfort. 12. And laſtly he helpeth us in the uſe of all thoſe holy means, by which this *Hope* and *Comfort* is to be maintained, and helpeth us againſt the ſins that would deſtroy it, and ſo keepeth it in life, and exerciſe, and perſeverance, till we finally overcome. By all theſe twelve Acts together the ſpirit cauſeth the Hope and Comfort of Believers, and ſaveth them from their *doubts* and ſorrows..

And now, Brother, when you can calmly think of it, I ſhould be glad that you would conſider, whether to ſay this *Divinity lead-*

leadeth to doubting, and that *it is not of God*, be not, 1. An untruth, 2. An injury to him whom you calumniate, 3. An injury to the souls of men that must be thus comforted, 4. And an injury to God, by telling the World, that his own doctrine is not his own, and by feigning Gods truth to be mans error. And whether your way here opened (by receiving sudden Comfort by a remembred Text) be founder doctrine? And be not such a way as Papists, Quakers, and most deluded people commonly boast of? And if you bring poor souls no better directions for their full assurance, peace and joy, whether in the end you will not prove a miserable Comforter?

Whether God hates book-prayers or forms.

EXCEPT. XVII. p. 10. *Answered.* When I say that I *wonder* at men that *think God maketh such a matter as they do of their several words and forms, as that he loveth only extemporate prayers and hateth forms, or loveth only prescribed forms and hateth extemporate prayers by habit,* he saith this is [As if I *could never speak meanly enough about prayer.*] But, brother, if you kindle this burning zeal your self, by teaching men to hate either *forms* or *praying* by *habit*; Marvel not if it burn you, within and without; and when your own passions have scorched you, other mens hatred of your prayers, as you hate theirs, do trouble you also. And if you hate the quenching of these fires, even when the Chur-

Churches by them are all on a flame, as ſober men as you will be of another mind, I tell you again, brother, you greatly wrong and diſhonour God, if you think that he layeth ſo much upon that which he never gave any law about, or ſpake one word for or againſt, as to tell the World that he hateth all prayer that is put up by a form or book. And that he that *denyeth this, ſpeaketh meanly of prayer.* The Lord teach you to know what manner of ſpirit you are of, (which requeſt I ſhall reiterate for you, inſtead of praying with your earneſtneſs, *The Lord rebuke him.*) Have you the bowels of a Chriſtian, and the ſpirit of Chriſtian Love and Unity, and can you think that God *hateth* (for that was my word) all the prayers of all the Churches and Chriſtians in the World, that uſe a form? Even of all the Greek Churches, the Armenians, Abaſſines, Jacobites, Syrians, Copties, Lutherans, and Calviniſts; of all the Engliſh publick Churches; and the prayers of ſuch holy men as Dr. *Preſton*, Dr. *Sibbes*, Mr. *Perkins*, Mr. *Hildersham*, Mr. *Cartwright*, Dr. *Stoughton*, Mr. *Whateley*, Mr. *Bolton*, and all ſuch as they that uſed ſome the Liturgie, and ſome other forms? And that God hateth the prayers of all Chriſtian Families and Chriſtians that uſe a form? Do you diſlike adding to God's word, and will you adde to it ſo boldly, as to ſay, he hateth that which he never once forbad?

If you would make your reader think

that I make God *indifferent to all modes and words* in prayer, you would abuse him: For though I never heard a man *swear* in prayer, I think you *curse* in prayer a little before; and I have heard many *rail* in prayer, and traduce men for truth and duty, and vent their own errors. But I beseech you promote superstition no more, and feign no Divine Laws which you cannot shew us? And teach not this unhappy age to feign things necessary that are not, and paint out the most holy gracious God, as the patron of every one of their fancies.

Your words [*Doth not God regard the manner of our addressing our selves to him? Must we not pray in the Spirit?*] Do still make me pray, that you may *know your Spirit*. Do you well to intimate that I say the contrary? When I maintain that God so far accepteth them that *worship him in Spirit and truth*, that he will accept their prayers, *with* a form or *without*, and *hateth neither*; yea, hath left *both indifferent*, to be varied as mens occasions and use for either vary, as he hath done a *form* or *notes* in *preaching*. It is an easie thing to turn *formalist* either way, by thinking God loveth our prayers either because they are in the *same words*, or in *various words*.

The second part of this Exception calleth me [*a trifler, that doth neither believe the Scripture nor himself, but tries to abuse*, &c.] Because I say about a Liturgie, 1. *Certainly in Christs time, both Liturgies by forms, and*

prayers

prayers by habit were uſed. 2. *That it is like that the Phariſees long Liturgie, was in many things worſe than ours; And yet Chriſt and his Apoſtles oft joyned with them, and never condemned them.*

Whether the Jews had a Liturgie in Chriſts time.

Anſw. 1. Let the Reader obſerve whether ever Chriſt, his Apoſtles, or the Phariſees medled with the Controverſie about the lawfulneſs of forms? Whether ever Chriſt condemned them? 2. Let the Reader note that when I ſay that *Certainly forms were uſed*, I ſay not, whether in the Synagogue or Temple, or Houſe, nor do I ſay that they were other forms than Divine? But when I ſay that *it is like in many things the Phariſees Liturgie was worſe than ours*, I mean that it is *like* (though not certain) that part of it was of humane invention, and uſed publickly.

And, 1. The word Liturgie (as *Martinius* and other Etymologiſts agree, hath three ſignifications, 1. The largeſt is, for *any publick office of miniſtry*, and ſpecially of diſtribution. 2. For the publick ſervice of God, in reading, teaching, praying, &c. 3. For ſtated orders and forms of that publick ſervice, To which *Bellarmine* addeth a *4th.* as the narroweſt ſenſe of all, *viz.* For the ſacrificing offices only; which is no uſual ſenſe. Now the ſecond and third being the now-Common ſenſe, I thought there had been no queſtion about them.

See Pſal 92. and 101, &c.

That the Jews had a Divine Liturgie in both ſenſes (as a *ſervice*, and as a *preſcript*

form) I proved in my 5*th*. Disput. of Liturgies many years ago. 1. In the Temple they had most punctual prescripts for their sacrifices of all sorts, and their offerings; and the manner of performance, and the actions of Priests and people about them. In the Synagogues *Moses* and the Prophets were read every Sabbath day! And the Psalms were purposely penned (many of them) and recorded to be *Prayers and Praises* for the publick and private worship, and were committed to several Church-officers to be publickly used: And *David* and *Solomon* appointed the Instruments, Singers, and order & manner in which they should be used. A form of prayer for the Priests is prescribed in three benedictions, *Numb.* 6. 23. *Hezekiah* commanded the Levites to sing Praises to the Lord with *the words of* David *and of* Asaph *the Seer*, 2 Chron. 29. 30. 1 Chron. 16. 7. [*On that day* David *delivered first this Psalm to thank the Lord into the hands of* Asaph *and his brethren*, Exod. 15. The *song of Moses* is a form. And *Rev.* 15. 3. the Saints are said to *sing the song of Moses* and of the *Lamb*. Most Expositers think that the *Hymne* that Christ sung at his *last supper*, was the usual form: If not, it was a *new form*. *Moses* form at the *moving* and *resting* of the Ark is set down, *Numb.* 10. 35, 36. *Deut.* 21. 7, 8. There is a form for the people to use, *Judg.* 5. *Deborahs* song is recorded: so is *Hannahs* praise, 1 *Sam.* And *Joel* 2. 17. there is a form for the Priests in their

1 Chr. 16. 4. and 25.
2 Chron. 8. 14, 15.

their Humiliation: And *John* taught his Diſciples to pray; And when Chriſt was deſired to teach his Diſciples as *John* had done his, he gave them a form. Now let the ſober Reader judge whether the Jews had *no form* or *Liturgie* of God's appointment.

If he ſay, *I thought you had meant a humane form*; I anſwer, If you will think that which I ſay not, and chooſe rather to *revile*, than *obſerve* what you read, I cannot help it.

2. When I ſpeak of a *Probability* afterward, I do mean of a *humane Liturgie*: of which I will now only ſay, 1. That it ſeemeth very improbable to me that the Phariſees who ſo abounded with Traditions, ſhould not ſo much as have *any humane forms* of prayer or praiſe.

2. When Chriſt ſpeaketh of their *long prayers*, I deſire *them on both extreams* to conſider, that, If it was a *long Liturgie*, they ſhould not compare the Puritane to the Phariſee in his long prayers as they uſe to do, but to others. But if they were *extemporate Prayers*, 1. To one ſide I ſay, that if Chriſt had been againſt *extemporate praying*, he would have put that into his rebukes: 2. To the other ſide I ſay, If the Phariſees had the gift of *long extemporate prayers*, we muſt take heed of over-valuing ſuch a gift, and aſcribing it too much to the ſpirit, ſo that the Phariſees *long prayers*, as a two edged ſword, cut both extreams in this pieviſh Controverſie.

3. This Controverſie *whether the Jews had a Liturgie*, is handled ſo largely by Mr. *Selden*, that I muſt refer the Reader to him that would ſee what is ſaid for the affirmative, in *Eutych. Alexandr.* pag. 35 to p. 63. Where he ſhews that till *Ezra*'s time there was none but the Scripture Liturgie; And that in *Ezra*'s time eighteen Prayers were made; and ſhews how far they might or might not adde: Where having cited abundance of Rabbins, he ſhews that however the Jewiſh Rabbins are fabulous, theſe hiſtorical teſtimonies are our beſt means of information, and are credible, and addeth the words of *Joſ. Scaliger*, [*Hic fuit vetus Ritus Celebrationis Paſchæ temporibus Meſſiæ: Quod vetuſtiſſimi Canones in Digeſtis Talmudicis manifeſto probant: Niſi quis eos neget antiquos eſſe; Quod idem ac ſi quis capita Papiniani*, Pauli, *Ulpiani*, & *aliorum Juriſconſultorum in Digeſtis Juſtiniani producta neget eſſe eorum Juriſconſultorum quorum nomine citantur; Quod nemo ſanus dixerit.*

EXCEPT. XVIII. p. 10. *Anſwered.* Here you except againſt me, if for any thing, for [*being grown ſo ſcrupulous and ſo tender as to be offended, if any break jeaſts upon Common Prayer.*]

Of jeaſting at other mens prayers.

Anſw. 1. I ſpake of jeſting on both ſides at one anothers devotions, and not of one alone. 2. If you are for that way of break-

ing

ing jeasts and scorns at other mens prayers, with what measure you mete it will be meted to you again. They will requite you to the full with jeasts and scorns at yours also. 3. Brother, do you like this way, or do you not? If you do, what a spirit are you of? If you do not, why do you quarrel with this advice

And whereas you cite my own words in the Reply to the Bishops, I must tell you; 1. That I know nothing in any of those Papers or Treaty, as to the matter that I have changed my judgement in, or repent of. And I admire that the Prelates that ask so often [*What will satisfie us?*] and others that carry it to the World as if we had said nothing, should to this day leave that Reply and our Liturgie then offered them, and our Petition for Peace, so much unanswered; Which few that knew them will believe is for want of will and fervour or indignation against them? 2. That yet the sentence cited by you [*Whether it be that the Common-Prayer-Book hath never a Prayer for it self,*] I confess is sarcastical, and I unfeignedly thank you for calling me to review it; and I do unfeignedly repent of it, and desire pardon of God and men, for speaking words of so much derision? Though I then no more perceived my fault, than you do yours.

I mentioned some that were scandalized at the scorns of men at the Liturgie heretofore; And, 1. He calls it a *prophane story fitter for Rankers*, 2. *He challengeth me to tell*

the names of them that used those expressions. 3. *He thinks I did greatly sin in repeating them.* 4. Else he will *think I invented them, on purpose to make my brethren odious, and justifie the persecution against them.*

Answ. 1. If it be so bad, why are you so angry with me, for being against it, and the like, or any scorns at other mens tolerable devotion?

2. Your challenge is but a drop of your unrighteousness. I told you I knew them that were *inflamed* by those words, but not that I knew the *Speaker*. And how should a man know the names of all that look in at a Church-door? How oft have I had Quakers in the face of the Market and of the publick Congregation, revile me, and curse me as in the name of God, and speak as bad words as those, when I seldome asked what their names were. And yet I must *name them* or be to you a *malicious lyar*. And shall I not be so with you, if I obey your challenge? Is it not unsavoury to name men in such stories? Well, I will thus far this once obey you. In 1640. coming up to *London* to the Physitians, I lay at *Bosoms-Inn* in *Laurence-Lane*: On the Lords-day the Inn-keeper, an old man (Mr. *Hawkshead* as I remember his name was) came in from *Laurence* Church with some guests in a very great passion: We ask'd him what the matter was? He answered, that as he went into the Church, a fellow look'd in, and spake those very words I recited, save that he

he ſaid [*The Deele*] inſtead of [*The Devil*:] And from very ſober honeſt people I have, I believe, many ſcore times heard them call the Common Prayer [*Porridge*] and ſay, [*He is not out of his Porridge yet.*]

3. If I ſin in repeating them, I pray you juſtifie not that ſpirit that uttered them; Nor be not of the mind of the Councellor of the wicked in this age, whoſe policy is to perſwade men to commit *ſuch heinous ſins* (*Perjury*, *Lying*, &c.) which ſound odiouſly in the naming, and then no man may ever accuſe them, leſt he be guilty of railing, incivility, &c.

4. Brother, a very low degree of ingenuity would have taught you to have judged ſuch a Plea for Love, by one that in this book ſpeaketh more againſt Perſecuting you, than ever you read, I believe, in a Licenſed book ſince the printing Act, to have come from no malicious perſecuting intent.

Yet, as if you were ſo eagerly ſet on the Defence of the dividing ſcandalous miſcarriages of this age, as to take it for *perſecution* ſo much as to lament them, or pray againſt them, you gather the ſame concluſion from my very *prayers* to God, *for pitty to his Church* that is diſtracted and endangered by ſuch uſage.

And here, ſeeing *your ſufferings* are ſo much talk'd of, and I am numbred by you among your perſecutors, endure me to tell you, that *ſuffering* hath its temptations as well

The temptations of ſuffering.

well as prosperity; And that the temptations to *passion*, and to run too far from those we suffer by, and to lose our charity to them and their adherents, are so much stronger to me (I leave others to judge themselves) than the temptations to fear and timerous complyances, that I was much more jealous of my heart in this, when I suffered most than at other times: For I knew that it is one of Satans designs to rob me of my *Charity* and *Integrity*, in which he would more triumph than in depriving me of my maintenance, reputation and liberty. And I must confess to you, brother, that (though I once hoped that we should have been great gainers by our sufferings) the fruit of them now appeareth to me to be such in many as maketh me more afraid of imprisonment for the sake of my soul, than of my body, lest it should stir up that *passion* which should bear down my judgement into some errors and extreams, and corrupt and destroy my Love to them by whom I suffer.

Many are overcome by suffering, who think they overcome. It's a reproach to our Nation that *Hornius* Hist. Eccl. saith, [*Ita ut superatissimus sive* Brownissimus *non alios habeat authores quam cum Tyrannide & superstitione Episcopos dominantes*, pag. 144. So much good suffering doth.

And truly, Brother, I am fully convinced that many that think their sufferings are their glory, and prove them better men than others, are lamentably lost and overcome by their sufferings. I think your companion and you are no gainers by it, who presently by preaching and writing thus, bring water to the extinguishing of Christian Love. I think those two Gentlemen before mentioned, that turned *Quakers* in prison, and left their Religion (as many more

more have done) were losers by it. And I think many thousands in these times, that are driven into various errors and extreams, and have lost their charity to adversaries and dissenters, have lost a thousand times more than their liberties and money comes to. Woe be to the World because of offences; And woe be to them by whom offence cometh. Experience of too many maketh me less in love with sufferings than I have been; And to think that the quiet and peaceable preaching of the Gospel (though under many other disadvantages) if God would grant it us, would be better for our own souls.

EXCEPT. XIX. *Answered.* You proceed, [*But Mr. B. being once got into the chair of the scornful will not easily out, and therefore goes on* [It is an odious sound to hear an ignorant, rash, self-conceited person, especially a Preacher, to cry out *Idolatry, Idolatry*, against his brethrens prayers to God, because they have something in them to be amended,] *Whereas we do not therefore think any thing to be guilty of Idolatry, because it hath something in it to be amended,* [*but because it is used in the worship of God, without any command of God to make it lawful;*] *And this we must tell our Dictator, is a species of Idolatry, and forbid in the second Commandement: And if he will not receive it so, it is, to use his own arrogant and imperious words,*

words, because he understands not Christian sense and reason.

Answ. 1. The charge of *Idolatry* against the Liturgie and Conformable Ministers I found in *John Goodwins* book, and Mr. *Brownes*, and others: But this, Brother, carrieth it much further.

2. He contradicteth himself in his Negation and Affirmation: For, whatsoever is to be *amended*, which is used in Gods worship, hath no command of God to make it lawful (For it is sin:) *But whatsoever is used in Gods worship* without any command of God to make it lawful, he affirmeth to be Idolatry: *Ergo*, whatsoever is used in Gods worship which is to be amended, he maketh to be Idolatry.

3. Reader, if this one Section do not make thy heart grieve for the sake of the Church of Christ, that our poor people should be thus taught, and our Congregations thus distracted, and unholyness, that is, uncharitableness, fathered upon the God of Love, and our sufferings and non-conformity thus turned to our reproach, and wrath and reviling pretended to be Religion, thou hast not a true sense of the concernments of Christianity and the souls of men. I shall propose here these few things to thy consideration.

Whether all that use any thing in Gods worship not commanded (and in particular a form of prayer) be Idolaters? And what this censure of Idolatry signifyeth.

Quest. 1. Whether an Idolater be not an odious person, and unfit for Christian Communion? (That these men think so, their practise sheweth.)

Q. 2. Whe-

Q. 2. Whether he that writeth and preacheth to prove others Idolaters, do not write and preach to make them (so far) seem odious, and to perswade men from loving them, and having communion with them as Christians?

Q. 3. Whether he that preacheth up hatred causelesly, and preacheth down Christian love, do not preach down the sum of true Religion, and preach against God, who is Love?

Q. 4. Whether preaching against God and Religion, be not worse than talking against it in an Ale-house, or in prophane discourse? And fathering all this on God and Religion be not a sad aggravation of it?

Q. 5. Whether this, brother, that affirmeth this to be *Idolatry* that he speaketh against, should not have given us some word of proof, especially where he calleth me that deny it, a Dictator? And whether both as *Affirmer* among Logicians, and as *Accuser* among men of justice, the proof be not incumbent on him?

Q. 6. Whether here be a syllable of proof, but his angry affirmation?

Q. 7. Whether thou canst receive this saying of his, if thou have Christian sense and reason, so far as to believe that all the Churches of Christ fore-named, the Greek, the Abissine, the Armenian, the Copties, the Lutherans, and all the Reformed Churches that fall under his Charge, are Idola-

Idolaters? And couldst bring thy heart accordingly to condemn them, and separate from them? And whether thou canst take all the holy Conformists of *England*, such as *Bolton*, *Preston*, *Sibbes*, *Stocke*, *Dike*, *Elton*, *Crooke*, *Whateley*, *Fenner*, &c. for Idolaters? yea, and all the *non-Conformists* that used and joyned in the Liturgie?

Q. 8. Whether thou canst believe that this same brother himself, that writeth at this rate, *do use nothing in Gods worship which hath no command of God to make it lawful*? Is all this reviling, all this false doctrine, all his untruths commanded of God? Or doth he not make himself an Idolater?

Q. 9. Whether, if he teach true doctrine, there be any Church or person in the World that worshippeth not God with Idolatry; I give my reasons. 1. There is no one but *sinneth*, (or useth sin) in the worship of God. But no sin is commanded or lawful: *Ergo* there is no one, according to his doctrine, but useth Idolatry in the worship of God.

2. There is no one that useth not some things not commanded to make them lawful, in the worship of God: Therefore, if he teach true doctrine, there is no one but useth Idolatry. The antecedent I have oft proved by many instances: The method of every Sermon, and Prayer, the words, the time and length, the translation of the Scripture, whether it shall be this or that, the

the dividing of the Scripture into Chapters and Verſes, the Meeter of Pſalms, the Tunes, Church utenſils, Sermon notes (which ſome uſe,) Catechiſms in forms, &c. the Printing of the Bible, or any other books, &c. none of theſe are commanded. And all theſe are uſed in the worſhip of God. And muſt all Chriſtians in the World be taught to fly from one another as Idolaters? Is this the way of Love and Unity?

Q. 10. Why ſhould this, brother, be ſo extream impatient with me for calling *Dividers, weak and pieviſh, and cenſorious* Chriſtians? If in his own judgement all men be Idolaters, that uſe any thing in Gods worſhip not commanded? Is not this to cenſure all men as Idolaters? And yet is a cenſure of pieviſhneſs on theſe Cenſurers a juſtifying of perſecution.

Q. 11. Whether this kind of talk be not ſport to the Papiſts, to hear us call one another *Idolaters*, as well as them? and do not make them deride us; and harden them in their bread-worſhip, and image-worſhip, as being called *Idolatry* on no better grounds than we ſo call one another.

Q. 12. Whether it be not a great diſhonour to any man to ſuffer ſilencing, becauſe he cannot add to Gods worſhip, the Ceremonies and Liturgie, and at the ſame time to add to Gods word new and falſe doctrines of our own, by ſaying that [*It is a ſpecies of Idolatry, forbidden in the ſecond Command, becauſe it is uſed in the worſhip of God without*

without any command to make it lawful.] And if we ſhould ſuffer ſuch falſe doctrine, and additions, and Love-killing, dividing principlesas this, to go uncontradicted, whether we do not betray the truth and our flocks, and ſhew that we were too worthy of our ſufferings?

But that this aſſertion or definition of *Idolatry* is falſe, I need to prove no otherwiſe, than, 1. That it is unproved by him that is to prove it, and, 2. That it denieth Chriſt to have a Church on earth, or to have any but Churches of Idolaters. 3. That it turneth all ſin in Gods worſhip into one ſpecies, even Idolatry. And ſo every falſe doctrine uſed in Gods worſhip is Idolatry: Every Antinomian, Anabaptiſt, Separatiſt, or of any other error be it never ſo ſmall, muſt be preſently an Idolater, if in prayer or preaching he ſpeak his error: And what man is infallible? When *your Companion* promiſed in the Pulpit, that there ſhould be *no more Tythes, no more Taxes, nor no more King*, in *Worceſterſhire* after *Worceſter*-Fight, this muſt be *Idolatry*. For certainly no error is commanded of God. 4. That it maketh the deſcription of a *thing indifferent*, to be the deſcription of *Idolatry*. For as [*a thing forbidden*] is the deſcription of ſin, ſo to be [*not commanded*] ſpeaketh no more but *Indifferency* (Though the *prohibition* to do *any thing not commanded*, ſpeaketh more, if it could be proved.) 5. It is contrary to the Scripture which never uſeth the word

[*IDO-*

[*IDOLATRY*] in that ſenſe? Peruſe the ſeveral texts, and try. 6. It equalleth almoſt all Churches with the Infidel and Pagan World. 7. It heinouſly injureth God, who is a hater of Idolaters, and will viſit their ſins (as God-haters) on the third and fourth Generations; to feign him to be thus a hater of his Churches, and of them that *uſe any thing in his worſhip not commanded.* 8. It tendeth to drive all Chriſtians *to deſpair*, as being Idolaters, and ſo abhorred of God, becauſe they have all ſome *uncommanded*, yea *forbidden* thing in worſhip: For by this mans doctrine, a ſinful wandring thought, a ſinful diſorder, or tautologie, or bad expreſſion is *Idolatry*, (as being *not commanded.*) 9. It tendeth to drive men to *give over worſhipping God*; becauſe while they are certain to ſin, they are certain to be *Idolaters*, when they have done their beſt. 10. It hardeneth the Mahometans in their enmity to Chriſtianity, who being the great exclaimers againſt Idolatry do already falſely brand us with that crime.

But what ever elſe it do, I am ſure it is ſo pernicious an engine of Satan, to *kill Love* and divide *the Church*, to feign every Conformiſt how holy ſoever, and every one that *uſeth in worſhip any thing not commanded*, to be an *Idolater*, that I may well adviſe all Chriſtians, as they love Chriſt and his Church, and their own ſouls, to keep themſelves from ſuch miſtakes. Were it not that it is unmeet to do great works ſo-

rily, on such slight occasions, in such a discourse as this is, I would here stay to open the meaning of the second Commandement; and shew, 1. That there are abundance of lawful things in Gods worship, as circumstances and outward modes that are not commanded in *specie* or *individuo*. 2. That somethings forbidden in that Commandement indirectly, are not Idolatry. 3. Much less are they a sufficient cause of separation. But this is fitter for another place. And I again refer you to Mr. *Lawson* in his *Theopolitica*.

EXCEPT. XX. *Answered.* This Exception is but a bundle of mistakes, and the fruit of your false interpretation of my design, 1. That I *prove not what I say*, is not true, when the many instances fully prove it, and you your self deny them not. 2. When I explain my self frequently and fully, who I do not mean by Dividers, and what separation I allow, you feign me to open my mind [*very unwillingly*,] and to [*defend those whom I traduce*,] that you may make men believe that I mean those whom I still profess that I mean not, and that you know my mind better than I my self. This is not true and righteous dealing.

EXCEPT. XXI. p. 12. *Answered.* When I say [*Our presence at the prayers of the Church*,

Church, is no profession of Consent to all that is faulty in those prayers] he saith, [*The Apostle thought otherwise in a like case of sitting at meat in an Idols Temple.*]

Answ. Brother, of all the men that ever I had to do with, scarce any hath dealt so superficially, without saying any thing against the proofs which I lay down, nor seeming to take any notice of them. How can you choose but see your self, that by denying my proposition. 1. You make it unlawful to joyne with any Church or person in the World; and so would dissolve all Church-Communion and Family-worship; For do not all men sin in prayer? And must any man consent to sin?

Whither we are guilty of consenting to all that is faulty in the prayers that we are present at.

2. How do you reflect on God that forbiddeth us, to forsake the assembling of our selves together? If consenting to sin be unavoidable?

3. I told you, we *Consent* not to the *faults* of *our own prayers*, much less to *anothers*, that are less in our power? What work would this one opinion of yours make in the World? *If we are guilty of all that is faulty in all the prayers of the Church* (or Family) we joyn with, yea more, *do by our presence profess Consent to them; and withal, if all not commanded in worship be Idolatry*, what a World are we then in? It's time then to turn seekers, and say that Church and Ministry are lost. It is these principles, brother, that I purposely wrote my book against.

But you ſpeak much beſides the truth, when you ſay [*The Apoſtle thought otherwiſe in a like Caſe*;] For you never prove that he thought otherwiſe: Dare you ſay, (I beſeech you think on it) that *Paul* and all the Apoſtles, and all the Churches, *profeſſed conſent* to all the faults in worſhip which they were preſent at? How know you that they were never preſent at any ſuch as *Paul* reproveth in the Corinthians? Yea, was *Chriſt* a profeſſed Conſenter to all that he was preſent at? Or all that he commanded men to be preſent at, when he went to the Synagogues, and bade the cleanſed, go ſhew themſelves to the Prieſts, and offer, *&c.* And bade his Diſciples, hear the Scribes and Phariſees, &c. I do not charge the Conſequences on your perſon, but it's eaſie to ſee, that it will follow from this opinion, that *Chriſt was a ſinner*, and conſequently no Saviour, and ſo no Chriſt. Alas, whither would you carry the people of the Lord?

Nor do you prove *Paul's Caſe to be like this.* Eating at the ſacrifices in the Idols Temples was *viſible Corporal Idolatry*, forbidden indeed, in the ſecond Commandement as *Idolatry* (interpretative, viſible, external, corporeal.) It was that very Act by which an Idol was outwardly worſhipped. Therefore it was a *Profeſſing*-act interpretatively. *Symbolizing* with Idolaters I have told you, is *Profeſſing*; for a *Symbole* is a Profeſſing ſign. But he that is preſent, with a Church profeſſing to worſhip, not

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an Idol, but the true God, and that according to the Scripture, and is united to the Church only in this profeſſion, doth not by ſo doing Profeſs Conſent to a Miniſters ill wording, or methodizing of his Prayers or his Sermons, which is the work of his own office.

2. As for your charge of *Blaſphemy*, &c. on me, for intreating you to take heed leſt you blaſpheme, by making Gods *foreknowing of faults*, to ſignifie an approbation, I paſs it by, and will not by ſo trivolous a return be drawn to enter further on that point.

EXCEPT. XXII. p. 13. *Anſwered.* Whether it be *bitterneſs, fierceneſs, fury, or proud impatience*, to reprove theſe ſins, in an inſtance which your ſelf preſume not to contradict; And whether the opinion that [*no truth is to be ſilenced for peace*] be fit for judicious peaceable men to own, or be not fit to be gain-ſaid, I have long ago debated in my book of Infant-Baptiſme, *pag.* 218.

EXCEPT. XXIII. p. 13. *Anſwered.* If you diſſent, why did you anſwer none of the ſix Reaſons I gave for what I ſaid, nor ſeem to take notice of them? But only when I ſay [*It were eaſie to inſtance in unſeaſonable and imprudent words of truth, ſpoken to Prin-*

ces which have raiſed perſecutions of long continuance, ruined Churches, cauſed the death of multitudes, &c. Upon which you put four queſtions, To which I anſwer, 1. The *flattery* of ſome, will not juſtifie the ſinful imprudence of others. 2. If you ſhould be guilty of the blood of thouſands by one ſin, will it excuſe you that another was *more* guilty? 3. *Elijah*, *Micaiah*, and *John* Baptiſt, ſpake not *unſeaſonably* or *imprudently*: Nor is all *imprudent* that bringeth ſuffering or death. 4. Goſpel Miniſters may *follow* them that ſpake *prudently*; but *unſeaſonable* and *imprudent* ſpeaking, is not following them. I have recited elſewhere a ſaying even of Dr. *Th. Jackſon*, that *It is not becauſe great men have not ſins and wrath enough, that there are no more Martyrs under Chriſtian Rulers, but becauſe there be not* John *Baptiſts enough to tell them of them* (to that ſenſe.)

But, either by all this you mean to defend *unſeaſonable and imprudent ſpeaking*, or elſe you mean that there is no ſuch ſin; or elſe you muſt needs *contend* where you *conſent*. If it be the firſt or third, I will not be ſo *imprudent* as to fence with you. If the ſecond, it is groſs contradiction of reaſon and morality, and of Chriſt himſelf, *Matth.* 7. 6. 1 *Tim.* 2. 11, 12. 1 *Cor.* 14. 28. 34. *Amos* 5. 13. *Eccl.* 3. 7.

EXCEPT.

EXCEPT. XXIV. p. 14. [*He hath found out a new Cauſe of Separation, and ſuch as we doubt not the Pope will thank him for, when he ſaies,* [*Almoſt all our contentions and diviſions, are cauſed by the ignorance and injudiciouſneſs of Chriſtians,*] *For it is evident that our contentions at this day, are principally, if not wholly cauſed, by the pride, impertinencie and tyranny of impoſers; which guilt Mr.* Baxter *would eaſe them of, by charging it on the ignorance and injudiciouſneſs of Chriſtians.*]

Anſw. Theſe laſt words are your 17*th.* Untruth; 1. Where have I ſaid a word to eaſe them of it? May not two perſons or parties be both guilty of Diviſion? Yea, if one were guilty [*wholly*] that is, of *the whole*, yet he may not be guilty *ſolely*, and no one with him. 17 *Untruth.* Of flattering Chriſtians.

2. Have you or any of your party, done ſo much to have ſtopt that cauſe of diviſions which you accuſe, as I have done? And did I ever change my mind?

3. O that God would make you know what ſpirit you are of, and what you are doing! Alas, brother, will you leave *England* no hope of a Cure? What hope, while we are impenitent? What Repentance, while we juſtifie our ſins? Yea, while the Preachers teach the people to juſtifie them, and become the defenders of the ſins which they ſhould preach againſt; and fight againſt their brethren that do but call men to Repen- Whether any Chriſtians be dully ignorant, and injudicious.

pose: What! is *Godliness* up, and in honour among us, while *Repentance* is down, as an intolerable abhorred thing! What a *Godliness* is that, which abhorreth *Repentance*? I am offended greatly with my own heart, that melteth not into tears over such lines as these, for *England*'s sake, and for Religions sake; For the honour of God, and for the souls of men. Is that [*a new Cause of separation*] which hath been the Cause since the daies of the Apostles to this day? Did ever man read the histories of the Schismes and Heresies of the Churches, and not find out this Cause, this old, this ordinary Cause? If you had remembred but what *Socrates* and *Sozomene* say of the Church of *Alexandria* alone, what contentions, what tumults, what blood-shed these weaknesses and faults of Christians caused, it might have told you, it is no new thing. O lamentable case of miserable *England*, that even among the zealousest sort of Ministers, any should be found, that either vindicateth all Christians from the charge of *Ignorance* and *Injudiciousness*! Or that thinketh these are *no Causes*, or no *culpable Causes* of divisions! That have no more acquaintance with the people of this land! And know no better them that they plead for! That such should seek to flatter poor souls in despite of that open light, and undeniable experience of all the Christian World! That in an age when the weaknesses and faults of Christians have wrought

such

such heinous effects among us, they should be *denied*! And when God by judgements hath so terribly summoned us to repent, by silencing, dilapidations, imprisonments, reproaches, and most dreadful plagues and flames; alas, shall we call to professors that have ruined us by *Ignorance* and *Injudiciousness* (the *gentlest* names that their sin will bear) and say, *Repent not Christians, you are not ignorant or injudicious; It is not you that are the causes of our divisions and calamities, Our Contentions at this day are principally, if not wholly caused by the pride, impertinency, and tyranny of the Imposers.*

Believe not, Christians, that you are innocent; Believe not that you are not *ignorant* and *injudicious* as you love your souls, and as you love the land: If once God deliver us up to Antichristian darkness and cruelties, it will be cold comfort to you, to think, that you once were flattered into impenitency, and made believe that you were not the Cause.

But that our hearts may yet more relent in this sad condition of the seduced, let us hear the following words.

Besides, (saith he) *we cannot understand the meaning of such phrases as* [*dull Christians, Ignorant and injudicious Christians,*] *For whoever are Christians indeed have received an anointing, by which they know all things*, 1 Joh. 2. 20. 27. *And should not have such vile Epithets affixed to them, which only tend to expose even Christianity it self, as if it did*

not

not cure those that sincerely imbraced it, of their Ignorance and Injudiciousness.

Answ. It is no disgrace to Christianity, that it is set off by the presence of *Ignorance* and *Injudiciousness*; As sickness maketh us know the worth of health. Nor is it long of life or health, that doleful diseases remain yet uncured; For were it not for them, instead of diseases there would be death. It is Godliness and Christianity which bringeth that Light and Health into the World that is in it; And men are not ignorant and bad because they are *Christians* and *Religious*, but because they are not *better Christians*, and more Religious. Perfect Christianity would make men perfectly judicious. The weakest true Christian exceedeth the Learnedst Ungodly Doctor even in *judgement* and *knowledge*; Because he *practically and powerfully* knoweth, that *God is God*, and to be preferred in honour, obedience, and love before all the World; and that *Christ is Christ*, and to be believed in for Justification and Salvation; And that the *Holy Spirit* is his Advocate and our Quickener, Illuminater and Sanctifier, to be believed and obeyed; and that there is a Life of Happiness to be hoped for, which is better than all the pleasures of sin, and the felicity of worldlings; In a word, they have a real, though imperfect understanding of the Baptismal Covenant, and of the Creed, or Symbole of Christian Faith: And this is a great and noble knowledge, and

Cure

Cure of them that were lately ignorant of all theſe things, and were led Captive by the Prince of darkneſs at his will. If the Reader that would ſee the difference will peruſe my ſmall Tractate of *Catholick Unity*, he may be informed of it.

But yet is there no ſuch thing as *Ignorant, dull, injudicious Chriſtians*, becauſe *they know all things*; Muſt we not uſe ſuch *phraſes* and *Epithetes*, *becauſe Chriſtianity cureth them*. Dear brother, I have no mind to make you odious, nor to open your ſin to others; But you have opened it to the World, and I muſt open it to you, if poſſibly you may repent; But eſpecially I am bound to try to ſave mens ſouls from this perilous deceit; And therefore I ſhall prove to you that there are ſuch *dull* and *ignorant* and *injudicious Chriſtians*; And 2. I ſhall tell you the greatneſs of your error and ſin.

See my book of Directions to weak Chriſtians to grow in grace.

That there are ſuch is proved, 1. By the words of Scripture, *Heb.* 5. 11, 12, 13, 14. [*Seeing yee are dull of hearing: For when for the time yee ought to be teachers, yee have need that one teach you again which be the firſt* principles of the *Oracles of God, and are become ſuch as have need of milk and not of ſtrong meat; For every one that uſeth milk is unskilfull* (or *unperienced*) *in the word of Righteouſneſs; for he is a babe: But ſtrong meat belongeth to them that are of full age, even thoſe who by reaſon of uſe have their ſenſes exerciſed to diſcern both good and evil.*

1 *Tim.*

1 Tim. 3. 6. *Not a novice, left being lifted up* with Pride, *he fall into the condemnation of the Devil.* The verb τυφωθεὶς is otherwise by our Translators in the margin turned [*besotted.*] And *Strigelius* saith that it signifieth not only *puffed up*, but one *crack'd brain'd* and *phrantick*: And *Lyserus* saith of the same word, 2 *Tim.* 3. 4. translated *High minded*, that it answereth an Hebrew word which signifyeth, *to be dark*, and *not to shine clearly*; which *Leigh* reciteth. See *Martinius de Typho.*

1. *Cor.* 3. 1, 2, 3, 4. *And I brethren could not speak unto you as unto Spiritual, but as unto Carnal, as unto babes in Christ: I have fed you with milk, and not with meat. For hitherto yee were not able to bear it, neither yet now are yee able: For yee are yet Carnal: For* whereas *there is among you, envying* (the word is, *Zeal*, that is, *emulation*) and *strife*, (or *contention* [and *divisions*,] or factions,) *are yee not Carnal, and walk as men* (or according to man;) *For when one saith, I am of* Paul, *and another I am of* Apollo, *are yee not Carnal?*

Eph. 4. 14. *That we henceforth be no more children, tost to and fro, and carried about with every wind by the sleight* (or cousenage) *of men, and cunning craftiness whereby they lye in wait, to deceive; but speaking the truth in Love may grow up*, &c.

Luke 24. 25. *O fools and slow of heart to believe, all that the Prophets have spoken.*

Mark

Mark 6. 52. *They considered not the miracle of the Loaves, for their heart was hardened.*

Mark 8. 17. *Why reason yee because yee have no bread? Perceive yee not yet, neither understand? Have yee your hearts yet hardened? Having eyes see yee not? And having ears, hear yee not? And do you not remember?*

Luke 12. 16. *These things understood not his Disciples at the first.*

Luke 18. 32, 33, 34. *They shall scourge him, and put him to death, and the third day he shall rise again: And they understood none of these things; and this saying was hid from them, neither knew they the things which were spoken.*

1 Cor. 8. 2. 7. 10. *If any man think that he knoweth any thing, he knoweth nothing yet as he ought to know, — Howbeit there is not in every man that knowledge: but some with Conscience of the Idol unto this hour, eat it as a thing offered to an Idol, and their Conscience being weak is defiled. Shall not the Conscience of him that is weak be emboldened to eat those things which are offered to Idols.*

See *Rom.* 14 and 15. *Gal.* 6. 1. 1 *Cor.* 9. 22. *Gal.* 3 and 4. throughout. *Col.* 2. 21, 22, &c. *Heb.* 13. 9. 1 *Tim.* 1. 3. Should I recite all such Epithetes, convictions, and reproofs in Scripture it would be tedious.

2. The thing is further proved by the common experience of mankind, which it

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amazeth me to think a man that liveth among men in the world, awake and in his senses, can be ignorant of? Enemies know it: Friends know it; not only that there are *Ignorant* and *Injudicious Christians*, *but that* the far greatest part are such though not in a *damning*, yet in a *sad and troublesome degree*! And that the far greatest part of those that we hope are truly godly, remain so lamentably ignorant of abundance of things, that should be known, and continue in such an infancy of understanding, as is a great advantage to the Tempter, and many waies calamitous to themselves, and to the Church: It is the lamentation of all experienced Ministers. Alas, how ignorant *even* honest people remain; And how slowly they come on in knowledge?

3. If God have made it one half the work of the Pastors of the Churches, to labour all their daies to heal the *Ignorance* of good people, then, such Ignorant ones there are: But the antecedent is plain in Scripture; and believed by most Ministers, as their daily Sermons tell you.

4. Do not the multitudes of Sects and Errors, and Contentions that have torn the Church from the Apostles daies till now prove it? Were all those in the Catalogues of *Epiphanius*, *Augustine*, *Philastrius*, &c. Certainly graceless? Or were none of them Ignorant and Injudicious?

And though *Church-tyranny* be a *grand Divi-*

Divider, that this was not the *only Cauſe*, two inſtances prove to the great diſgrace of this aſſertion of his. Firſt, the inſtance of the ſaid ſects of Chriſtians, for the firſt 300 or 400 years, when there were no ſuch *Impoſitions*. Secondly, our late twenty years (or neer) contentions and diviſions, and numerous parties, when there were little or no impoſitions. Was it *impoſitions* or *tyranny* that bred ſects in the Armies, and in *England* and *Ireland* in the daies of liberty?

5. And is it not ſufficient proof to *England*, that there are *weak*, *ignorant*, *injudicious* Chriſtians, when the *ruines* of *twenty years experience* overwhelmeth us, and when ſo *many years unreconcilable differences* prove it? And when we have ſo *many ſects and differences* to this day: What all theſe differences, theſe wars, theſe diſputings, theſe cenſurings, diviſions and confuſions, and yet *no Ignorant Injudicious Chriſtians*? O what will paſs for proof with them that will not take ſuch experience for proof?

6. And what ſay you by all the *Greek*, *the Abaſſine*, *Armenian*, *Neſtorian*, *Jacobite*, &c. Chriſtians, that are alas, in National general Ignorance: Which will you affirm, Brother; That all theſe Nations are *damnable Infidels*, or *no Chriſtians*? Or that there are *no Ignorant Chriſtians* among them?

7. And what ſay you by all the Contentions of *Lutherans and Calviniſts*, *Arminians* and

and *Antiarminians*, the troubles of *Germany* by *Muntzer* and his Anabaptists, and those at *Munster*, and those in *Holland*, and many other Countreys.

8. And what say you by all the books now extant (Dr. *Crispes*, Mr. *Saltmarshes*, *Cop's*, Mr. *Cradocks*, Mr. *Dels*, Mr. *Dens*, Mr. *Randalls*, *Jacob Behmens*, and all the Germane Prophets, *Andr. Osiander*, *Swenkfieldius*, &c.) Is there no Christianity? or no *ignorance* and *injudiciousness* apparent in them? Besides all the writings of Episcopal, Presbyterian, Independents, Separatists, Anabaptists, *&c.* against one another.

9. Do you not think your self, that multitudes of *Conformists*, yea *Ministers* are Ignorant and Injudicious? Sure you do; And can you judge them all to be *no Christians*?

10. Do you not think that *I am Ignorant and Injudicious*? If not, you must not only think that I am *no Christian*, but also extreamly maliciously wicked. But if you do so think of me, can you think so of *all the non-Conformable Ministers of my judgement*. I am sure if you believe your self, and as you write; *Ignorance* is the easiest charge we can expect from you.

11. And will *you* put forth such a book as *your own* to the World, and when *you* have done deny the *Ignorance* and *Injudiciousness* of all Christians? This is all one as to *swear* that there is never a swearer among Christians.

12. I

12. I appeal to the common Charges of Miniſters in their Sermons and books, who charge weak Chriſtians with *dulneſs*, *ignorance*, and *injudiciouſneſs*.

13. I appeal to the experience of all Maſters of Families, whether they meet with no ſuch Chriſtians there? Yea, how hard it is to meet with better?

14. I appeal to the experience of every ſelf-knowing Chriſtian, whether he find not abundance of *dulneſs*, *ignorance* and *injudiciouſneſs* in himſelf?

15. I appeal to the *prayers* of almoſt all Chriſtians, whether they charge not themſelves with this to God?

16. I appeal to almoſt all the diſagreeing diſputers of this and every age, whether they *charge not one another with it?*

17. I appeal to moſt Pariſhes in *England*, whether many of the people charge not their Miniſters themſelves with it?

18 I appeal to Univerſities, Tutors and Schools, whether they know none ſuch?

19. I appeal to any judicious man, whether he find not the judicious even among good Chriſtians; yea, and Miniſters to be, alas, too rare?

20. And I appeal to all men that are awake, whether there be no Chriſtian children in the World? And whether all ſuch children are cured of *Ignorance* and *Injudiciouſneſs*, and know all things by the anointing of the Spirit? And if all this be no proof, it is time to give over teaching and diſputing.

The greatness of the sin of thus flattering Christians.

And now that, if perhaps, you may repent, and others be preserved, I shall tell you what nature this sinful doctrine and practice is of; 1. It is a cherishing of *Pride*, which is the first-born of the Devil: Yea of spiritual Pride, even a Pride of mens *Knowledge* and *Judiciousness*, which is worse than Pride of wealth or ornaments.

2. Hereby it resisteth a great work of the Gospel and Spirit of Christ, which consisteth in the humbling of souls, and making them become as little children, conscious of Ignorance, and teachable.

3. It defendeth that sin which all experienced judicious men complain of, as that common calamity of mankind, which is the grand cause of contentions, and errors in the World. Which is, mens thinking that they know what they do not, and overvaluing their own understandings, & thinking that they are wise when it is otherwise.

4. It contradicteth the Holy Ghost, and reproveth his language and reproofs, as I have before shewed. To which I adde 2 *Tim.* 3. 6, 7. They *lead captive silly women laden with sins, led away with divers lusts, ever learning, and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth.* 1 *Cor.* 15. Where *Paul* is put to prove the Resurrection; *ver.* 34. *Some have not the knowledge of God: I speak this to your shame:* ver. 36. *Thou fool, that which thou sowest*, &c. Hos. 9. 7. *The Prophet is a fool, the spiritual man is mad*, &c. 1 Cor. 3. 18. *Let him become a fool that he*

may

may be wiſe. If you ſay that ſome of theſe were not true Saints, I anſwer, 1. *Paul* calleth the Church of *Corinth* in general, Saints. 2. Our queſtion is of more than *true* Saints; even ſuch as may by others (who are no heart-ſearchers) be called, *Chriſtians*; whether we may call any [*dull*, *ignorant*, or *injudicious Chriſtians*?]

5. You teach Parents and Maſters to neglect and betray the ſouls of their children and ſervants, that are Chriſtians: And children and ſervants, to reject the teaching of Parents and Maſters: For if they are not dull, nor ignorant, what need they to be taught or to learn? And at what age do they come to *know all things*, and to be paſt the title of *Ignorant*? Is it at 4, or 5, or 7 years old? Doubtleſs they may have the ſpirit then: If not, where is it that you will ſet the bounds? At what age *were you* paſt your ignorance and injudiciouſneſs, and knew all things?

6. You thus make the work of *School-maſters* needleſs; and alſo of Tutors and Academies.

7. You encourage and countenance idle Miniſters, as to the labours neceſſary to Chriſtians: If there be no *dull* nor *ignorant Chriſtians*, they are not ſo blame-worthy as we have made them.

8. You excuſe thoſe that unjuſtly hinder Chriſts Miniſters to preach to Chriſtians, in any part of the World: If there be no *ignorant* Chriſtians, Preachers are not ſo ne-

ceſſary, nor ſilencing them ſo bad a thing as we have made it.

9. You encourage the contemners of the Preaching of Gods word, who ſay, what need we go to hear, we know as much as they can tell us.

10. You contradict the Sermons of almoſt all Miniſters, as if they abuſed Chriſtianity, and belyed the people, when they reprove their *ignorance* and *dulneſs*.

11. You encourage the bold invaders of the Miniſtry, who thinking that they *know all things*, and are not *ignorant*, do turn Teachers of others, before they have learned themſelves.

12. You encourage the diſputing, contentious wrangling, and inſolent ſpirit that is abroad, which maketh men tear and divide the Church, by confidence in their ſeveral opinions; while all of them may think that they are not ignorant nor injudicious.

13. You ſeek to keep Chriſts Diſciples in continual Ignorance, while you would make them believe that they are *not Ignorant*, and ſo keep them out of a learning way, which is a Diſciples ſtate.

14. You condemn your own practice, who *preach* to thoſe that you judge your ſelf to be Chriſtians; For what need they your teaching (as to their underſtandings) if they are not *Ignorant*, but know all things?

15. You countenance the Quakers and Papiſts in their doctrine of *Perfection*: Yea you go far beyond them, inaſmuch as they aſcribe

aſcribe perfection but to a few.

16. You juſtifie all the *Errors* of the times, which Chriſtians hold, and teach them to ſay, we are Chriſtians, therefore we erre not, for we are not ignorant.

17. You juſtifie *Contradictions*: For if ten men be of ten ſeveral contrary minds, *e. g.* about the expoſition of a Text, it is but one of them that can be right; And yet you teach them all to think that they are right.

18. You do this againſt the full light and experience of an age of Errors, yea of almoſt all ages of the Church.

19. You ſhew your ſelf inſenſible of the ſinful ignorance and diviſions, and ruines thereby procured, theſe twenty years.

20. You teach all thoſe that are or have been guilty, to be impenitent.

21. You do this in an age, when dreadful judgements, which have begun at the houſe of God, do call his houſhold moſt loudly to Repent, and to be an example of penitence to others.

22. Should you prevail thus to keep Chriſtians in impenitence, you would keep us in our calamities, and turn away the peace and deliverance which we hope and pray for, and be the prognoſtick of our continued woe, if not of the undoing of the land, and an utter forſaking.

23. You teach Chriſtians in prayer not to confeſs their *dulneſs* or *ignorance*, and make them ſpeak falſly that do confeſs it.

24. You vilifie all thoſe means which God hath inſtituted to cure his peoples ignorance, as a needleſs thing, if it be cured in all already; As reading, hearing, meditating, conference, &c.

25. You croſs the uſe of *all the World*, even the *works* of *Creation* and *Providence*, ſo far as they are *Gods means* to teach Chriſtians knowledge, and cure their ignorance.

26. You teach men to loſe the moſt of their lives, as to growth in knowledge, when they muſt believe that they are cured of their ignorance as ſoon as they are Chriſtians, and know all things perhaps at ſeven years old.

27. You teach almoſt all Chriſtians to deſpair of their ſincerity, and to deny themſelves to be Chriſtians. For when you have taught them that [*whoever are Chriſtians indeed, have received the anointing by which they know all things, and are cured of their ignorance and injudicioufneſs, & are not to be called dull, or ignorant, or injudicious Chriſtians.*] They will quickly aſſume [*But it is not thus with me, I am dull and ignorant*, &c. *therefore I am not a Chriſtian indeed.*]

28. You almoſt if not wholly deny and un-Church Chriſts Church on earth, while you deny all to be Chriſtians indeed that are ignorant, injudicious, dull, and know not all things.

29. By cheriſhing the *pride* and *ignorance* of Chriſtians, you cheriſh all their other ſins,

ſins, which theſe two are the common parents of.

30. You make us hereby ſeem a tender and a factious people, that ſee motes in the eyes of others, but not beams in our own; who can aggravate the ſins of others, yea, the *publick worſhip* into Idolatry it ſelf; But when we come to *our party*, we take it for a reproach to Chriſtianity, to be called *dull*, or *ignorant*, or *injudicious*.

31. You ſhew by this that your cenſure of the Conformiſts is ſo high, as to make them all to be no Chriſtians indeed. For you cannot think that an Idolater is not Ignorant and Injudicious: and ſo no Chriſtian with you. But he that wrote Mr. *Bolton*'s life, thought otherwiſe.

32. You abuſe the Scripture, 1 *Joh.*2.20. 27. to countenance all this; As the Quakers do [*He that is born of God ſinneth not.*] *Calvin* truly noteth that by [*knowing all things, he meaneth not univerſally, ſed ad præſentis loci circumſtantiam reſtringi debet;*] It is, *the All things* which the *apoſtates* there reproved did deny. As the Prophet ſaith, *They ſhall not need to teach one another ſaying, Know the Lord, for all ſhall know him:* —And yet they might have need to teach one another an hundred *other truths*, though they all *knew the true God from Idols*. So here to *know all things*, is to be knowing *perſons*, in compariſon of the infidels and apoſtates; (which, ſaith *Calvin*, he ſpeaketh to procure a fair audience with them:) As if he ſhould

ſay, [I ſpeak not to you as ſo rude and ignorant perſons that know not theſe great things which theſe apoſtates deny.] Dr. *Hammond* thinketh that it meaneth, that the Holy Ghoſt by which you are anointed, or preferred before others, is a certain proof or evidence to you, of the Truth of all the doctrine which Chriſt taught, and therefore you cannot forſake him by the ſeducement of theſe apoſtates. *Beza* ſaith, *Atqui cognoſcimus omnes ex parte*, 1 Cor. 13. 9. *Eſt igitur Hyperbole, qua ſignificat Apoſtolus, ſe nihil afferre quod illi jam antea non intellexerint, quos ipſe commoneaciat potius quam doceat, ut loquitur etiam ipſe Dominus*, Jer. 31. 34. *Vel quod etiam ſimplicius eſt, omnia intelligit neceſſaria agnoſcendis Anti Chriſtis, & cavendis illorum inſidiis*: And to that purpoſe the Engliſh Anotations.

But further I grant, that all Chriſtians have that ſpirit which teacheth them all things needful to Salvation. But how? Not in the firſt moment. Nor without their pains and patience in learning: But in bleſſing them by degrees in the uſe of thoſe means, which they muſt continue learning by, while they live; which notwithſtanding, moſt are long *dull* and *ignorant*, and *injudicious*, though not in compariſon of unbelievers.

But what if the Text had meant properly [*yee know all things*;] Do you prove that this is ſpoken of *all true Chriſtians*, and that in *all ages*? And that it is not partly grounded

ded on the extraordinary anointing of the ſpirit, poured out, *Act.* 2. proper to thoſe primitive times, for the obſignation of the Goſpel.

33. It's a heinous ſin to be a *flatterer* of mens ſouls! And to ſowe pillows under mens elbows, and to call evil good, and to ſooth multitudes up in their Ignorance, and tell them, *It is not* an *Epithete* fit for them.

34. And thus you teach them to oppoſe and hate a faithfuller ſort of Miniſters, who will tell them of that which you would draw them to deny.

35. And it is a double ſin for a *Miniſter* to do this, who is a watch-man for the peoples ſouls.

36. And yet more, for one that ſo ſharply reprehendeth the faultyneſs of Conformiſts, as to ſeparate from them.

37. And to pretend that the confeſſion of our own faults is not only an *eaſing of other mens*, but even a *meriting of the Pope*; As if either the Pope muſt be in the right, or no Chriſtians muſt be ſaid to be Church-Dividers by their ignorance; Even in a time when our Diviſions ſo ſhew themſelves, that no one can doubt of them: What is this but to perſwade men to be Papiſts?

38. And what is all this but to expoſe us to the ſcorn of all that are inclined to ſcorn us. To teach them to look on us as they do on the Quakers, as a proud, diſtra-

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How ſad is it to read in *Horneius*, *Salmaſius* and others abroad, ſuch horrid deſcriptions of the Engliſh ſects and ſcandals? Though the Actors were not ſo many as ſome of them thought.

acted ſort of people, that will make the World believe that none of us are ignorant, injudicious, or dividers, againſt ſuch notorious publick evidence: Yea, to harden them that have voluminouſly reproached the non-Conformiſts, and to engage your ſelf to juſtifie all the ignorant, injudicious ſayings that they are charged with; or elſe to prove that the ſpeakers were no Chriſtians.

39. And this you do in the very day of our ſcandals and reproach, where thouſands are already hardened into a diſtaſte of ſerious Religion, by our former diviſions and injudicious miſcarriages; As if you would thruſt theſe miſerable ſouls yet deeper into Infidelity and Atheiſm. And when the ſcandal of our diviſions hath turned many (and ſome old profeſſors of Religiouſneſs) unto Popery; you take the courſe to turn off more.

40. Yea, by making us thus odious, you do very much to increaſe the diſtaſte and diſpleaſure of our *Afflicters*, and to bring more ſufferings upon us, as a people that are Phanaticks indeed: Even while you make *Proud impoſition* and *perſecution* the cauſe of our diviſions. And when the world knoweth, not only that in the firſt 300 years of the Church, there were ſwarms of hereſies and ſects, and alſo after *Luther*'s reformation, and among us in Armies, Cities, and Countrey for about 20 years, even to our own confuſion; yet would you tempt them to

to take us for a people not to be believed, by ſeeming to deny all this. And when I proved to you, that it is Gods way after our miſdoings, to take the ſhame to our ſelves, that it may not fall on our Religion; and the Devils way to juſtifie the miſdoings of Chriſtians, that Chriſtianity and Religion may bear the blame; you give no confutation of any of this, and yet go on to wrong the truth, by defending that which is not to be defended; If there be none of all this that in your eyes is matter fit for your Repentance, I ſtill pray that you may better know what manner of ſpirit you are of.

Yet I wiſh you to obſerve, that I do not ſay, that *in terms* you aſſert all theſe ill conſequences; nor do I think that you ſo practically hold them, as not in ſome meaſure to hold the contraries of them; I take you not to be ſo bad: But I only adviſe both you and others, to own no more the opinions which infer ſuch things, nor to do that which tends to cheriſh them.

And I here proteſt to all that ſhall take the occaſion of your paper, to aſperſe the Proteſtants, or the non-Conformiſts in general, that they will be inhumanely diſingenuous in ſo doing, when none but the guilty ſhould be accuſed.

EXCEPT. XXV. *Anſwered.* 1. Brother, you do ill to intimate either of theſe

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Of the loud voice of the Preacher, and a sound judgement.

Untruths. 1. Either that there is no such thing as [*an ignorant sort of Preachers, more valued for their affectionate tone and fervour, than abler judicious men;*] When as the whole Christian World knoweth that there are *many* such Preachers both among the several sects, (and of our selves, there are or have been some) and in the publick Assemblies, and among all Christian Churches where there is preaching through the World: And the worlds experience puts it past doubt, that the generality of the vulgar, unlearned and injudicious sort of men, do value a man by his tone and voice more than for the judgement and excellency of his matter, if not put off by such advantage. Brother, you and I are both known persons; Though I look not to mention my self without your imputation of pride, I will venture, while I put my self on the side which you say I reproach, to tell you, that I was once commonly taken to have as affectionate a tone of speech as ever you were, at the least: And I ever found that Matter and Affection together took best: But that warm Affection and fervent utterance, with common and little matter, took more with the far greater part, than far more excellent matter delivered, with less fervour of affection. I have said as much against cold preaching as ever you have done at least: And I am as much against it as ever: And I am my self much helped in profiting by an affectionate delivery. But,

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Brother, I take it for no pride to think that I have had more experience of mens cases than you have had; (If you have had no more Paſtoral Charge than I ſuppoſe, and came but out of the Univerſity when I was ready to be turned off from mine.) And I muſt tell you that I have been oft ſorry to ſee how the people have been moved (in Army and Countreys) to value a Quaker, a Seeker, an Antinomian, an Anabaptiſt, a Socinian that preach'd down the God-head of Chriſt; (And among the Orthodox, ſuch ignorant ones as you know I am acquainted with;) meerly for the tone and fervency of their delivery. Scarce any thing hath more infected the injudicious with errour.

2. Or if you deny not that *ſuch a thing there is*, then it is yet worſe in you to feign this *empty loudneſs*, or *affected fervency*, to be the Preaching which God owneth to the Converſion of ſouls, Comparatively. This is to reproach the work of Preaching and Converſion, ſo ill do you avoid what you injuriouſly impute to others, when you cry out, [*What could* Parker, &c. *have ſpoken more reproachfully*, &c. Sure you thought I had ſpoken againſt *fervent preaching* it ſelf, or elſe you would not have talk'd as you do? Here alſo (after ſome mention of my Pride and Folly) you adde two more groſs Untruths. 1. That what I ſpake of *individual perſons* without reſpect to *any party*, Conformiſts, non-Conformiſts, or Separatiſts,

tists, and instanced in many of my *own acquaintance*, some of which *now Conform*, yea are zealous Conformists, who were the ferventest loudest Preachers that ever I knew in all my life: [*If I will not tell you who they are*, (alas man, did you never know such) you *must think it concerns all that are at this day engaged in a Gospel separation.*] *Answ.*

18 *Untruth.* Had you said [*We will think so*] it might have been true: But, 1. I had made no mention at all of *separation* in the whole *Direction*, nor intended any more than I expressed; But only meant to direct people to avoid that error in the choice of Teachers, which prepareth them for any seduction and division. 2. I had largely spoken there for affectionate Preaching. 3. I am not acquainted with very many such as in *England* have been known by the name of Separatists, that go no further; But those few that I do know, I take to be colder, duller Preachers, than those that are called Presbyterians by far, for the most part of them; so far was I from meaning them; But Quakers, and Fifth-Monarchy men, and some Anabaptists I know, and many revilers of the Ministry I have known, in Armies and Countreys that were just such as I describe. 2. It is an untruth that you had

19 *Untruth.* no pretence of Reason for (that I can think of) that I [*have left off the Lords work, and instead of helping it forwards with you, am weakening your hands, and disgracing the build-*

builders.] If you mean that I preach not in the *Pulpit*, no more do you: If you mean that I have not a *ſeparated Church*, I never had one (on your principles at leaſt:) If you mean that I preach not in *London*, 1. I cannot if I would. 2. I never had any Paſtoral Charge, nor place in *London*, but preach'd one year up and down for others, and another year took but a voluntary Lecture. 3. *London* I was forced eight years ago to forſake for my health and life. 4. Gods work is not only in *London*. 5. I have no call thither, nor any people related to me as a Paſtor there. 6. There are very many worthy men there that want both employment and maintenance, whom I will not injure. Are not all theſe reaſons enough? But if you think otherwiſe, 7. Are not all the Preachers in *England forſakers of Gods work* that preach not in *London*? 8. I think you preached not for many years, when you lay ſo long in priſon: Did you then forſake Gods work?

Whether I have left off the Lords work.

Note how ordinarily Chriſt himſelf and his Apoſtles avoided perſecution by removing.

But I muſt confeſs, Brother, I have alwaies been too ſlothful and unprofitable a ſervant, and ſtill am: Yet I can ſay, that I know no other employment that I have, and that I ſpend no more time in other things than neceſſities of life require; I play away none, and I idle away but little; and *preaching*, were it oftner, is a ſmall part of my work, and that will be proved to be the *Lords* work, which you think is againſt him, (as all have done that ever I wrote againſt

againſt almoſt.) And I love you much the better for being zealous for that which you do but think is the Lords work; But I am paſt doubt that it will prove at laſt, that ſuch *doctrines*, *paſſions*, and *practices* as yours, will be the *weakeners* and *hinderers* of the builders.

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* Of the judgement of the Univerſal Church.

EXCEPT. XXVI. *Anſwered.* p. 16. I intreat the Reader to peruſe my words which you except againſt ſo angrily, and I am aſſured, he will find them uſeful to him, in the great Queſtion *Who ſhall be Judge?* And to help him out of his perplexities. 1. It is a notorious untruth that you ſay, [*It is altogether a new way of deciding Controverſies, to affirm Dictator like, in all points of belief or practice which are of neceſſity to Salvation, you muſt ever keep company with the Univerſal Church.*] Be it right or wrong, who knoweth not that knoweth what was held of old, that it is the way that *Irenæus*, *Tertullian*, *Epiphanius*, *Hierome*, *Auguſtine*, *Optatus*, and abundance more have largely written for: And which *Vincentius Lirinenſis* wrote his book for, (*Quod ſemper, ubique, & ab omnibus*, &c.)

2. Note, Reader, that he leaveth out, that I ſaid here [*no man muſt be Judge, no, not the univerſal Church*, but only *that they are* our *aſſociates*, and that *here every Chriſtian maketh the Articles of his Faith his own, and upon no mans authority*, &c.] But I maintain that it

it is no Article of absolute necessity to Salvation, that hath been unknown to the Universal Church till now; for then it were no Church.

But, saith our brother, *who shall tell us what is the Universal Church? And where shall we find it? Answ.* Are these Questions now to be answered by me? Did you never before hear it done by others? The Universal Church, is the *Universality of Christians*: It is to be found *militant*, on this habitable earth. Did you not know this?

But you ask, [*How comes the Scripture not to be mentioned?*] *Answ.* Because it was not seasonable, or pertinent. I was not defining the Church; If I had, it was definable without the naming of the Scripture, at least before the Scripture was written: And whence think you did I mean men should make the doctrine of Faith their own, past controversie, but by the Scripture? Good brother, till you have written more books for the authority of Scriptures than I have done, or preach'd more for it, own not such disingenuous intimations.

Of the judgement of Learned men in difficult speculations.

2. You say that, [*what he addes is much more conceited and singular; In matters of high and difficult speculation, the judgement of one man of extraordinary understanding and clearness, is to be preferred before both the Rulers and the Major Vote.*] *Answ.* It is another Untruth, that *this is singular.* My very words are almost *verbatim* in Mr. *Pem-*

ble Vind. Grat. elſewhere cited. Why do the *Scotiſts*, ſo far follow *Scotus*, and the *Nominals*, *Ockham*, and the *Dominicans*, *Aquinas*, &c. if this were a ſingular opinion? Do not all the Peripateticks ſay the ſame of *Ariſtotle* in Philoſophy? And the *Atomiſts* of *Epicurus*, *Democritus* and *Lucretius*; and the *Carteſians* of their Maſter? Doth not Dr. *Twiſſe* ſay the like of *Bradwardine* and of *Piſcator*? And do not many beſides *Rutherford* think the ſame of *him*? Do not the *Ramiſts* ſay ſo of *Ramus*? Do not the *Proteſtants* ſay ſo of *Calvin*, as to all that went before him? Nay, is it not almoſt the common opinion of all Learned men? And a thing beyond diſpute? Did ever any man put ſuch points of high ſpeculation to the Major vote? Alas, brother, that you ſhould trouble men thus, by printing your confidence againſt unqueſtionable Truths!

20 *Untruth.* In the next place you ſuppoſe, [*Mr. Baxter hopes, as* Haman *did in the like caſe, that he ſhall be the man, or elſe he would not have adviſed us to preſer the judgement of any one man whatſoever.*] *Anſw.* Here are three more Untruths, 1. *That I hope to be the man.* 2. *That* Hamans *was the like caſe.* 3. *That elſe I would not have adviſed*, &c. But I let them go for one; till you have proved what you ſay, and know my heart better than I my ſelf. In the mean time I give you an inſtance in which I aſſure you I hope not to be the man: Will you ſuppoſe at the

next meeting of Miniſters, that there are ſixteen that underſtand not the Hebrew Tongue, and three that have but a little ſmattering in it, and one that is a *Bythner*, a *Phagius*, a *Buxtorfe*, a *Tremelius*, or (to pleaſe you where it is poſſible) an *Aynſworth*: If the Controverſie be, how ſuch a Text of the Old Teſtament is to be interpreted, will you put it to the Vote? Or will you not prefer that one mans judgement before all the reſt? And do not thoſe Miniſters do thus, that truſt to the Tranſlators, and underſtand not the Originals themſelves.

But you adde, [*He knows we believe that the Scripture is both perfect and plain.*] *Anſw.* Yes, plain to them that are fitted to underſtand it. Our labour is not to alter the Scripture, but to alter mens underſtandings. Do you know as much as *Twiſſe* or *Bradwardine* for all the Scriptures are plain? Or do you think that I know as much as you? Let the Reader judge. Do you not think that your writing and preaching is needful, for all that the Scripture is *plain* and *perfect*: And do you not know more than all your hearers? If all the Miniſters ſilenced and unſilenced be not needleſs to teach *the people*, why may not ſome *one man* excell *you and me*, whoſe teaching may be needful to us, and yet the Scripture not be diſgraced? Or why will you not write us an Infallible Commentary, and ſave Mr. *Poole* his labour of abbreviating the Criticks, if the plainneſs of

the Scripture ſerve your turn without the teaching of any one that excelleth you? Shall all our people, and all the differing, contending parties in *England* ſay, *The Scriptures are perfect and plain*, and therefore we need not the Tranſlation of them, the Interpretations, the deciſions or helps of any but our ſelves? Or of any wiſer than the moſt?

As for your *Anathema*, I thank you for your admonition.

EXCEPT. XXVII. *Anſwered.* You ſay *He ſeems to us very much to diſparage the reputation of honeſty, when he ſcruples not to affirm* [*It oft falleth out that honeſt people are like ſtraying ſheep, if one leap over the hedge, the reſt will crowd and ſtrive to follow him.*] *This we think is enough to make people afraid of being honeſt, if indeed when they are ſo, they are ſo apt to go aſtray.*

Whether honeſt people be not apt to ſtray after one anothers example.

Anſw. 1. Do I need to cite you an hundred Texts in which this ſinning, ſtraying inclination is charged upon honeſt men? When *Paul* ſaith of himſelf, what he doth, *Rom.* 7. and *David* of himſelf, *Pſal.* 119. 176. And he that ſaith that *he hath no ſin deceiveth himſelf, and the truth is not in him*, And *there is not a juſt man that doth good and ſinneth not.* Did not *Pauls* carnal Corinthians, and *Lgeal* Galatians go aſtray one after another? Are you ſure that they that followed their Leaders into all thoſe ſects which *Epi-*

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phanius and others mention, were all *dishoneſt*? And all they that followed *Swinkfeldius*, and *Behmen*, and *Stiefelius*, and *Muntzer*, and ſuch others? And all they that have followed Dr. *Criſpe*, or *Arminius*, or the Leading Anabaptiſts, or Seekers, of theſe ages? Yea, or all they that did and ſaid thoſe contrary and confounding things in our late troubles, which muſt not to you be mentioned? Are you ſure that none of all theſe were honeſt? Or are you ſure that none of them went aſtray? Even when they contradicted, yea, killed one another? Or are you ſure that ſome ſeduced not the reſt? At leaſt you ſhould not have forgotten in the doing of it, that you were then writing an Antidote to keep honeſt people from being infected by *my book for Love and Unity*; And if honeſt people are in no ſuch danger, why laboured you in vain? Your intenſeneſs upon what your paſſion ſets you on, hindereth your memory of what you cannot chooſe but know.

2. But, O brother, how injurious a Courſe is this that you take? How contrary to all the courſe of Scripture, and the duty of a Miniſter, to lay the reputation of honeſty it ſelf ſo much on ſuch ſinners as moſt honeſt men are, that honeſty it ſelf muſt be thus publiſhed by you to ſeem dangerous and hurtful, unleſs all honeſt people be vindicated from ſuch errors? As if we muſt grant that, if men can but prove this ſtraying diſpoſition in many honeſt perſons,

ſons, they muſt be afraid to be honeſt? And do you not undoubtedly hereby give up all honeſty to be avoided? Will any man but you, that is ſober, and awake, deny the antecedent, that ſeeth our ſeveral parties, and knoweth what we have done? This is not the way to vindicate honeſty. Health and Life are not to be avoided becauſe moſt men have diſeaſes and infirmities. Why did you not anſwer the proofs I gave you of the Lutherans, Armenians, Greeks, and other Kingdoms that run together in an error? Are the falls of Gods ſervants recited in Scripture, a reaſon to teach men to flye from honeſty or religion?

EXCEPT. XXVIII. *Anſwered.* When I counſelled men to [*note and avoid the ſins and bad examples of religious men, and to ſtudy what are the common errors of the religious party where we live, that we may take a ſpecial care to eſcape them.*] Here, 1. You impute this to my *enmity againſt ſtrictneſs.*

Whether we ſhould mark and avoid the ſins of Chriſtians in the time and places where we live.

Anſw. 1. I thank you for all your admonitions; but, truly, Brother, you quite miſtake our controverſie through your book; which is about *Dividing* the Churches, and *deſtroying* Love, and not whether *my heart* be *malicious, wicked, or to be Anathematized*! What if I be worſe than *Judas?* What's that to our caſe in hand? 2. And time will teach you, that *ſin* is not *godly ſtrictneſs* nor *honeſty*; and that he that was *againſt your ſin*, might be *for your ſtrictneſs* and your *honeſty*. 2. You

2. You queſtion whether [*any man that dares write ſo, is ſerious.*] This needs no anſwer.

3. You [*believe ſuch counſel was never given to Chriſtians before.*] *Anſw.* 1. Alas, that any Miniſter or Chriſtian ſhould be ſo unexperienced! Would you not only reproach the non-Conformiſts, but all Proteſtants, and all Chriſtians? as if none either of their Miniſters or Neighbours ever counſelled men to watch and eſcape the ſins which the Religious part are guilty of, in the time and Countrey where they are? The Jews were before Chriſts time the holy peculiar people of God: And did you never read, 1 *Cor.* 10. 1. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12. It's too long to tranſcribe. Did you never read *Heb.* 3 and 4? Nor read of the ſins, of the *Polygamy*, the putting away of wives, and other faults of the better ſort, and the generality of the Jews? Did you never read how common the high place-worſhip was even under godly Kings? Nor yet how the Law was neglected till the book was almoſt unknown? Did you never read of the ſins of *Noah*, *Lot* and his Family, *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, *Jacob*, *Moſes*, *Aaron*, and his ſons; the company of *Corah*, *David*, *Solomon*, *Peter*, *&c*? Did you never read of Chriſts rebuke of his Diſciples for their hardneſs of heart, their ignorance, their ſtriving who ſhould be greateſt? And how he took that occaſion to warn them by the compariſon of a child, and by his waſhing and wiping

of their feet? Nor yet of his rebuking their common expectation of a temporal Kingdom? Are not the errors of the ſeveral Religious Sects reproved by the Ancient Writers, *Irenæus*, *Tertullian*, *Epiphanius*, *Auguſtine*, &c. Did you never read any writing counſelling men to avoid the errors and ſins of the *Donatiſts*, nor the *Novatians*, the *Monothelites*, the *Neſtorians*. *Eutychians*, &c? The errour of the Religious ſort among the *Lutherans*, is Conſubſtantiation, Church-Images, Ceremonies, &c. The error of the Religious *Calviniſts* is too much neglect of the Lords day: What thoſe of the *Arminians* and the *Anabaptiſts*, and many other ſorts are, I leave to you. Did you never read any man that warned others to avoid theſe ſins and errors? Did you never find in the *Antimonians* writings, that the ſtricter ſort of good people went too far in preſſing humiliation, tears and degrees of ſorrow, ſo as to be too dark and ſparing in preſſing the doctrine of Grace and Love: (And it was partly true;) Did you never hear or read, how ſuperſtition, eremetical and monaſtical lives, exceſſive faſtings and auſterities, were cauſed by the ſtricteſt people? Nor yet of *touch not*, *taſte not*, *handle not*? Nor of ſome lawful things feigned to be unlawful? Nor yet that ever *Paul* wrote to the *Corinthians*, *Galatians*, &c. And Chriſt, by *John*, to ſix of the *Aſian* Churches, to know and avoid the ſins of Chriſtians, together with the hereticks among

among them? Nor yet that *Paul* ſaid, *Act.* 20. *Of your own ſelves ſhall men ariſe ſpeaking perverſe things to draw away Diſciples after them?* Nor yet that he ſaid, *I have no man like minded*, (as Timothy,) *for all ſeek their own things, and not the things that are Jeſus Chriſts?* Nor that *all forſook him at his appearing* before *Nero?* Nor that *all his Diſciples forſook Chriſt and fled?* Nor that *Paul* ſaid that the *Miniſters of Satan tranſformed themſelves into Miniſters of Righteouſneſs?* In a word, that beſide all other ſins, the carnal ſiding and diviſions which *Paul* reproved the *Corinthians* for, moſt ages have among the ſtricter ſort been guilty of? Would you teach your hearers to put their doctrines or practices to a Major Vote of Profeſſors? Do you think *we* know the ſincere from hypocrites? Or that either hypocrites or ſincere are without ſin? Or that we muſt take no warning by good mens falls? Muſt we all do over again, all the faults that Religious men have done theſe 30 years? You make my heart grieve, Brother, to think that there ſhould be a man among us, that thinketh the Church muſt be built up by ſuch doctrines, and ſuch means as yours?

You ſay [*We are commanded not to conform our ſelves to the World.*] *Anſw.* Nor to ſinning Chriſtians neither; [*But firſt* (ſay you) *to ſuppoſe that the Religious party have generally ſome common errors among them, and then to adviſe that we ſhould carefully ſtudy to eſcape*

Whether the Religious sort may not have some common errour to be avoided?

escape them; This counsel we think Mr. Baxter *may be the father of; nor do we envy him the honour of it.*]

Answ. 1. Have the Religious sort among the *Greeks*, *Abassines*, *Nestorians*, *Jacobites*, *Armenians*, *Lutherans*, *Anabaptists*, *Arminians*, &c. no common error among them?

2. Are you for more Infallibility and Perfection than the Papists themselves?

3. Will any Christian besides you, that is sober, deny that we should study to escape them?

4. Did you ever read any sober Writer of another mind?

I beseech you take heed of this pernicious flattery of Professors: And I beseech all the Religious that love their souls, to take heed of being ensnared by such flattery, into a proud, impenitent state.

And in the grief of my heart here, I must say to the people that which I expect this brother should impute to enmity to godliness. You see by this manner of teaching what you have brought your selves and your Teachers to? I have oft grieved to observe, that many look that Preachers should make it their business to *flatter them*, and *extoll them* in the highest praises, and to prick others as deep, and vilifie them as much as may be; and this is the preaching that they are best pleased with. I know that the precious and the vile must be widely differenced, and he is no Preacher of the

Gospel

Gospel that doth not do it: But when the Preacher must notifie *our party* as *precious*, and cast dung on those *as vile*, whom uncharitable men without proof *think* vile, and must hide all our sins, as if to touch them were to reproach Religion it self, and must aggravate *theirs*, even the *greatest* that differ from us, or else be a flatterer and temporizer; O that such knew but what manner of spirit they are of!

You adde that *I make my advice ridiculous*, by forgetting that I bid men agree with the *Universal Church*. *Answ.* I said expressly, [*In the necessary Articles of Faith,*] And must we therefore agree with them in all *their sins* and errors? Or may I not say, [separate not from most or any Christians as to things true and necessary,] and yet [*avoid their sins,*] and [*be followers of them as they are of Christ.*] Alas, poor Christians, that ever you should either be instructed at this rate? or yet have need to be instructed against it?

EXCEPT. XXIX. *Answered.* Why, Brother, did you never till now hear either *Familists*, *Socinians*, or the *grosser Quakers* (such as Major *Cobbet* writes against, and *Smith*) called by the name of [*a Sect,*] Had you no greater thing to quarrel with? You shall call them how you will. Your anger I pass by.

EXCEPT.

EXCEPT. XXX. *Answered.* You say [*May we not justly suspect that to be bad in the worship of God, which the wicked sort do love?*] *Answ.* I spake not of [*what they love, but, what they are for;*] This change of my words is unrighteous. I only *advised men not to reject a good cause, because it is owned by* some (or most *bad persons.*) And why did you not answer my instance of the Pharisees *long prayers?* We have had many Religious persons or sects that have of late been some against Infant Baptisme, some against singing Psalmes, some against Ministry, and Church-meetings, and some against Sacraments, and instituted Ordinances, and some against Tythes and Universities, and humane Learning; (And Mr. *Norton* of *New England* told me, that with them, *A Church separated from a Church, or was gathered out of it, rejecting their Pastors, and choosing unlearned men, and would receive and endure none that had humane Learning*; and that *Moses* and *Aaron* (as his words were) *Magistrates and Ministers went down on their knees to them with tears, and could not move them to relent unto unity, or to receive a learned Minister, nor get any answer from them, but* [*that is your judgement, and this is ours.*] I speak his very words as neer as I can possibly, spoken to old Mr. *Ash* and me, before his (yet living) companion Mr. *Broadstreet* a Magistrate of *New England.*) Now all this the *common people* are against.

Must

Muſt *we* therefore be againſt *Magiſtrates*, *Miniſters*, *Ordinances*, and all, becauſe the *common people* are for them. How commonly are they againſt the *Quakers*, and the *Familiſts*, and the *Infidels*, and *Heathens*, and (with us) the *Papiſts*? Are all theſe therefore in the right? Let any *Familiſt* deny the Scripture, or the immortality of the ſoul, and the common people will be againſt them. Muſt we deny God and Chriſt becauſe we live in a land where they are *owned*?

Brother, conſider, 1. That ſome truths the *light of nature* teacheth all. 2. And ſome *common illumination* teacheth multitudes of bad men. 3. And ſome *good education*, and the *tradition* of their fathers, and the *Laws* of the Countrey teacheth. 4. And ſome are better perſons among thoſe that you ſeparate from, than many are that ſeparate from them. Let not us then be bad, and more erroneous than thoſe whom you account the worſe, and all becauſe they are no worſe.

The Text which you wiſh me to read on my knees, I have done ſo, and I thank you for that advice; but I anſwer not your hope of *retracting what I have written* (in that,) but contrarily, 1. On my knees I pray God to forgive you ſuch abuſe of Scripture. 2. And to give you a ſounder mind. For the Text ſpeaketh of *Infidels*, or denyers of Chriſts incarnation, and maketh this the differencing Character, [*Every*

ry ſpirit that confeſſeth that Jeſus is come in the fleſh is of God; and ſo on the contrary. But are all theſe Chriſtians that you plead for ſeparation from, and charge with Idolatry, *Infidels*, and denyers of Chriſt? And all the Churches on earth that uſe a Liturgie? O brother, you uſe not Scripture, or the Church aright. We grant that in profeſſed Chriſtians alſo, the carnal mind is enmity to God, and they that are moſt carnal, are likeſt to reject the truth; But yet we would not wiſh you to meaſure Truth by the quality of the Receiver: For Chriſt is truly Chriſt, though many workers of iniquity ſhall ſay, we have propheſied in thy name: Many hereticks have been ſtrict and temperate, when the greater part of the Orthodox have been too looſe: Yet that did not prove the Chriſtian doctrine to be falſe.

EXCEPT. XXXI. *Anſwered.* I have little here to do but number your viſible Untruths
21 *Untruth.* in matter of fact: One is (21th. Untruth,) [*He flyes upon all ſides that are for order in any kind,*] When I ſpeak not a word againſt *Order*, nor againſt any ſide; but the inſtances of ſome mens extreams, which all that are *for Order* hold not.

22 *Untruth.* Your 22*d.* Untruth, is [*Without expreſſing himſelf whether he is for Papal, Presbyterian, or Independent Government in the Church,*] And [*if this were not crime enough*

to

to seem unsetled in so necessary a point.] What signification have I given of unsetledness? When I have long ago publickly told the World my judgement about all this to the full, in my five Disputations of *Church Government*; and in a Book called *Christian Concord*, and another called *Universal Concord*, another of *Confirmation*, besides many more. But might not a man be setled that were (as I am in the main) of the same judgement as is expressed in the *Waldenses*, or *Bohemian Government*, described by *Lascitius* and *Commenius*; which taketh in the best of Episcopacy, Presbytery and Independency, and leaveth out the worst, and the unnecessary parts? Are all the *Hungarian*, and *Transilvanian*, and old *Polonian Protestants*, that come neer this order, without Order, or unsetled?

3. It is your 23*d. Untruth that I write very dubiously about Justification, whether we are to take it to be by Faith or by works.*] When as all that I was here to say of it, is spoken very plainly; & I have written many books to make my mind as plain as it is possible for me to speak: (As in my *Confession*, my *Disputations of Justification*, my *Apologies*, my *Answer to Dr. Barlow*, and in my *Life of Faith*, which was printed before this, where I have detected a multitude of errors about Justification; and many more.) And if you expect every time I name Justification I should write the summ of all those books over again, I shall fail your expectation, though

23 *Untruth.*

though I incur your censure, who, no doubt had I done it, would (justly) have censured such repetition for tedious vanity.

You adde [*We fear he is not sound in that point.*] (*Answ.* Your fear is your best confutation, and the best assistance that you afford, to make me as wise and judicious as your self.)

[*The Lord*, (say you,) *We hope in mercy to his Church, and particularly to those who have been deceived into a good opinion of him, will bring this man upon his knees, that he may make a publick acknowledgement of his folly.*]

Of Justification.

Answ. If that be your work, it is the same with his, that it is said you sometime wrote against: so many Volumes have been written already by Papists, Prelatists, Anabaptists, Quakers, Seekers, and many other Sects, for this very end, to cure mens *good opinion of me* (as if a man that could but think ill of me, were in a fairer hope of his Salvation) that if all these have not yet accomplish'd it, nor all the famous Sermons that have been preach'd against me; I doubt, brother, that your endeavours come too late. You may perswade some few factious credulous souls into hatred, but still those that love God, will love one another. And I confess of all that ever I saw, I least fear your book, as to the bringing men out of a good opinion of me, unless your name and back-bitings can do it.

When you say that I say that [*The presumptuous*

ſumptuous do boaſt of being Righteous by Chriſts imputed Righteouſneſs,] in conſcience and honeſty you ſhould not have left out [*without any fulfilling of the Conditions of the Covenant of Grace on their parts,*] Is this juſt dealing? Are there no ſuch preſumptuous boaſters? Or will you juſtifie them all, that you may but vent your wrath on me. My judgement in the foreſaid point of Imputation of Chriſts Righteouſneſs, I have opened at large in the foreſaid writings, *The Life of Faith, Confeſſion, Diſp. of Juſtif,* &c.

EXCEPT. XXXII. p. 18. *Anſwered. I ſaid,* [*The good of nature is lovely in all men as men, even in the wicked, and our enemies,* (*And therefore let them that think they can never ſpeak bad enough of nature, take heed leſt they run into exceſs.*) *And the capacity of the good of holineſs and happineſs is part of the good of nature.*] Would you think now that any man alive ſhould find error or hereſie here? or ſhould deny this? Yet, ſaith this brother, *This is ſtrange counſel to them that have learned from Scripture, that every imagination it evil, &c. So that we do not ſee if we will allow the ſpirit of God to be the beſt Counſellor, how we can ſpeak bad enough of corrupted nature, as the nature of every man now is.*]

Anſw. Truly, brother, that man that would not have Profeſſors of Religiouſneſs in *England* humbled in theſe times, may find

Whether we can speak bad enough of nature.

in your book a greater help to cure his error, than in the *Debater*, or the *Eccleſ. Politician*. 1. Your [*not bad enough*] is ſure a *hyperbole*: For you can ſpeak as bad as the Scripture doth; And if that ſpeak not *bad enough*, you accuſe it of deficiency or error.

2. But I ſuppoſe, you meant [*not too bad.*] What do you think then of ſuch ſayings as theſe following? If you ſpeak truth, then, 1. Mans nature is not capable of grace, or of any amendment or renovation. 2. Nor is it capable mediately of Glory. 3. Mans nature is not Reaſonable, nor better or nobler than a bruit. 4. The argument would not be good againſt murdering of any but a Saint, *Gen. 6. 9. Who ſo ſheddeth mans blood, by man ſhall his blood be ſhed; for in the Image of God made he man.* 5. No man can grow worſe than he is, if he never ſo much deſpiſe God and all his means of grace, and commit every day Adultery, Murder, Treaſon, *&c.* 6. Then there are no degrees of evil among natural men, nor is one any worſe than another. 7. Then men on earth are as bad as thoſe in hell, and as the Devils. 8. Yea, ten hundred thouſand times worſe than Devils, and the damned; for ſo bad you can call them. 9. Then mans nature hateth good formally as good, and loveth evil formally as evil. 10. Then there are in mans nature no teſtimonies for a deity, or the immortality of the ſoul, nor no conſcience of good or evil, nor no principles or diſpoſitions to common

See *Act.* 17. and 14. And *Rom.* 1, and 2.

mon honeſty or civility; or elſe all theſe are bad. 11. Then no wicked man is culpable, as ſinning againſt any ſuch innate Light, Law, or Principles. 12. Then natural men are as much void of power to read, conſider, or do any good at all, or forbear any ſin at all, even hourly murder, theft, perjury, &c. as a ſtone is void of power to ſpeak or to aſcend. And ſo that all ſuch that are damned, are damned for not doing that which they had no more power to do, and for not forbearing that which they had no more power to forbear than a ſtone to ſpeak. Or elſe that all ſuch power it ſelf is evil. 13. Then it may be ſaid, that there is nothing in all the nature of man which is the work of God; or elſe that Gods work it ſelf as well as mans is evil. That man is not a man, or elſe it is evil to be a man. 14. Then there is nothing in mans nature that God can in any kind or meaſure Love; or elſe that God loveth that which is evil, even with complacence. 15. Then there is nothing in mans nature which we ſhould love in one another; and no man is bound to love, yea, every man is bound perfectly to hate all that are not Saints; or elſe we muſt not perfectly hate, but love that which is perfectly evil. 16. Then no man ſhould love his children or friends, for any thing in them till they have grace. 17. Then no natural man ſhould love himſelf: Or elſe goodneſs is not the proper object of rational love. 18. Then

if every man be armed with utmoſt malice againſt others, and perſecute and deſtroy them, impriſon, torment, murder all good men, yea Kingdoms, if he were able, it would be but that which we are naturally no more able to forbear, than the fire to burn, or a ſtone to be heavy. 19. Then ſeeing every man ought to look upon every natural man as perfectly evil, and a perfect enemy to all mankind, if they all murder one another, it is but the deſtroying of ſuch as have no good, either natural or moral, and ſo are far worſe than toads or ſerpents. 20. Then every natural man hath no reaſon ſaving only Gods command, (which it is impoſſible for him to obey) to forbear the murdering of himſelf or his children, any more then others. 21. To conclude, Then man is not *Bonum Phyſicum*, and in *Metaphyſicks*, *Ens & Bonum non convertuntur.*

You adde, [*And had not Mr.* Baxter *told us before, that he underſtood by Fleſh, only the ſenſitive Appetite?*]

24 *Untruth.* *Anſw.* This is your 24*th.* Untruth, and a meer fiction; And your not noting the place was no ſufficient hiding of it. I have oft in many a writing declared otherwiſe what I underſtand by [*Fleſh.*] *Viz.* 1. The ſenſitive apprehenſion, imagination, appetite and paſſion as it is grown inordinate. And, 2. The underſtanding, will, and executive power as they are corrupted to a ſinful inclination to the objects of ſenſe, and become

become the ſervants of the ſenſitive part, and are turned from the love of God, and things ſpiritual, unto the fleſhly intereſt.

You proceed, [*Now we ſee one firm reaſon to deny the leaſt allowance of free will in the things of God, ſince thoſe that hold it in any degree, are ſtrongly inclined to deny original ſin and corruption; which if Mr. B. hath not felt, &c.*] *Anſw.* 1. This is plainly aſſertive of me, and is your 25*th.* Untruth: I never denied it; but have in my *Divine Life* and other Writings, ſaid more to prove it, than ever you have publiſhed. 2. If no degree of free will, even Phyſical, or Civil, be to be allowed, thoſe that deny us liberty to preach, or if it were to live, do no more in your account, than they are as abſolutely neceſſitated to do, as your pen was to write this. And ſure you will alter our courſe of Juſtice, and equal murder, man-ſlaughter, and chance-medley, as they call it: And whereas he that killed a man by the head of his axe flying off unwillingly, had an excuſe and refuge from death by the Law of *Moſes*, you will allow every man that killeth another, or that hurteth, beateth, or ſlandereth you, this much excuſe as to ſay, I had no more liberty of will to do otherwiſe, than I have to hate felicity as ſuch: Or I could no more do otherwiſe, than your pen can forbear writing when you move it.

25 *Untruth.* Whether there be any free-will.

Whether he that counts all natural men as bad as he can name, will not hate them, and ſay bad of them without fear of ſlander?

And out of this Section of your judgement of humane nature, I ask you, 1. Do

you not tell the world here the reason why you write so vehemently against my Principles of Love? What wonder if you should hate all men perfectly whom you count natural, and so perfectly evil? 2. Do you not tell the World, that your purpose is to speak as bad of all us and others whom you account natural, as your tongue can possibly speak, and to take this for no slander, but your duty; seeing you think, you *cannot speak bad enough of corrupted nature, as the nature of every man now is?* Do you not here tell us, that how bad soever you shall say of us, you never do or can say bad enough? But why are you so angry with me for *being and doing* so bad, when I have no freedom to be or to do better, any more than the fire not to burn? Yea, when you interr all mens natures to be incurably evil, and therefore desperate; seeing it was *a capacity of holyness* which I asserted, when with such abhorrence you contend against my words.

EXCEPT. XXXIII. p. 19. *Answered.* 1. To be a *surly, proud professor* is a milder accusation far than your last. 2. But why should a *Preacher* think that a man must speak against no sin which he is guilty of himself?

EXCEPT.

EXCEPT. XXXIV. *Answered.* 1. I understand not what you mean by saying [*If they persecute any, they contract a guilt upon all?*] If you mean on *all the people*, then you think *you* are guilty of persecution: If you mean on *all the Magistrates*, then the *Innocent*, even *Obadiah* that *hid* the Prophets are guilty of *persecuting* them. What guilt a publick persons sin bringeth on a body politick as such, is a case that I mean not to dispute with you.

2. You adde, [*We think they do a very ill office to Magistrates that insinuate, it is possible for them to persecute some, and yet be innocent.*] *Answ.* If you intimate (as you seem plainly to do) that I have so done, this is your *26th.* Untruth, and worse than a meer untruth. *26 Untruth.*

EXCEPT. XXXV. *Answered.* 1. Doth it follow that because lawful separation is not from the same uncharitable spirit, that persecution is, therefore *unlawful separation* is not?

2. You force me to confute you by Instances which yet you abhor to hear. You say [*Persecution in no case can consist with love?*] Do you think your self that all the Common-wealths-men, the Anabaptists, the Separatists, the Independents, or whoever, that had a hand in the order for sequestring all Ministers, that kept not their Whether no persecution can consist with Love?

daies of humiliation and thanksgiving for the blood of *Scotland*, had no love at all remaining? Or that none of this was persecution? Nor yet the ejecting of them that refused the engagement? Nor yet the imprisonment and banishment of the *London* Ministers, and the death of Mr. *Love* and *Gibbons*? To pass by the Scotch war it self, and all the rest. Do not the Sectaries think that the Presbyterians did or would have persecuted them? And did not the Presbyterians think that the Sectaries persecuted them? Do you think that in the Contentions, with the *Donatists*, the *Novatians*, and many other professors of strictness, the parties that persecuted had *no Love*, and so *no true grace* remaining? Truly, brother, I like persecution as little as most men living do, and have written more against it than you have done; (forgive this pride) But I cannot be so uncharitable as to condemn all the sects, and parties, and persons, as utterly graceless that have been drawn to persecute one another; When I consider how few sects in the World have escaped the guilt; and how far pievishness and seeming interest hath carried them. You know, I suppose, that the *Munster* Anabaptists themselves, did not forbear it. The *Lutherans* have oft persecuted the *Calvinists*; And the *Arminians* in *Holland* thought that the *Calvinists* persecuted them, and denied them liberty of Conscience: Even the *New England* godly Magistrates and Ministers are ac-

accuſed of it by the Quakers and the followers of Mrs. *Hutchinſon* and *Gortin*.

And I would you knew what ſpirit you are of, whether you have none of the ſame ſpirit your ſelf? Would you not have hindered the Printing of this Book of mine, if you could have done it? And then would you not have hindered me from Preaching the ſame thing, if you could have done it? And is not this to ſilence that Teaching which is againſt your judgement? Is not that ſpirit, which hath all the vehement ſlanders and revilings which your book aboundeth with, and which *earneſtly prayeth God to rebuke me*, of the ſame kind think you, as to uncharitableneſs, with the perſecuting ſpirit? And is this in you inconſiſtent with all Love?

3. It is your 27*th*. Untruth, that (*after many virulent expreſſions*) *I am forced to confeſs, &c.* My conſtant expreſſion of my judgement, and true ſtating of my ſenſe, is no [*forced Confeſſion*] of any thing: Much leſs did I ever confeſs that no perſecution can conſiſt with Love; but have even there ſaid much to evince the contrary. 27 *Untruth.*

EXCEPT. XXXVI. *Anſwered.* I put ten Queſtions to convince men of the ſin of that ſeparation which I ſpeak againſt: And all his anſwer to them, is but this, [*He asks many queſtions about Church-Communion*:

But

But he knows the Proverb, and let that answer him.] *Answ.* But is this impartial enquiring into the truth? Or is this kind of writing fit to satisfie sober men?

EXCEPT. XXXVII. *Answered.* Your 28th. Untruth is next, [*He taketh it ill that we should think the Church of Christ to consist but of a few,*] When I have no such word or sense; but my self profess there to believe it; and only contradict them that would rob Christ of almost all those few, and make them incomparably fewer than they be.

28 *Untruth.*

You adde, [*But when he saies, the belief of this is the next way to infidelity.*] *Answ.* That's your 29th. Untruth; I said no such thing; I only admonish you to observe that your abusive lessening the number is your way to Infidelity; And I proved it, which you pass by: He that can believe to day, that Christ came to dye for no more in all the World, than the *Separatists* are, is like very shortly to believe that he is not the Christ, the Saviour of the World, and the Lamb of God that takes away the sins of the World.

29 *Untruth.* Of the fewness of Believers.

When you adde that [*I cast reproach on the word of God that affirmeth this expresly,*] it is but another of your untruths, and an abuse of the word of God.

EXCEPT.

EXCEPT. XXXVIII. *Answered.* When I tell you of some that have run through all sects, and turned Infidels, you adde another *Untruth*, that I *thus reproach a whole party with the miscarriages of some few, unless* you mean by a *whole party*, all that are of that opinion which I confute: For all the Separatists are not for it. And so what ever opinion in the World I shall gain-say, you may say that I contradict a *whole Party*, that is, the *Party* that holdeth that opinion. But, brother, doth every one reproach you, that telleth you of your danger, and would save you from infidelity and hell? If the common people should tell you that you reproach their whole party, when you preach to them of the tendency and effects of sin and error, you would easily see the fault in them. Your talk of a *prostituted Conscience I forgive*: But if you must not be told of the dangerous tendency of an unsound doctrine, lest you seem to be reproached, you will leave your selves in a sad condition, when your cure is rejected as a reproach. 30 *Untruth.*

EXCEPT. XXXIX. *Answered.* Very good. You grant that [*if the same spirit be restored to the same words, they will be as good as they were at the beginning.*] But, what spirit was that, brother, that first took up the forms and words that now we speak of?

It

It was not only a ſpirit of miracles, tongues, or ſupernatural inſpiration. Why do you ſay then that [*no man can reſtore the ſame ſpirit to them, and we cannot believingly expect that God will do it, becauſe we have no promiſe for it*] It was but the ſpirit of Illumination and Sanctification; And have not all Chriſts members this ſame ſpirit? Judge by *Rom.* 8. 9. 1 *Cor.* 12. *Eph.* 4. 3, 4, 5, to 16. You have here then by conſequence given up your whole cauſe. You grant that [*If the ſame ſpirit be reſtored which firſt uſed the prayers, and reſponſes and praiſes of the Liturgie, it is very true, that they may be uſed now: But the ſame ſpirit is in all the truly faithful*; Ergo, *by all the truly faithful they may be uſed now.*]

Whether the ſame ſpirit may not be reſtored to the ancient forms.

EXCEPT. XL. p. 20. *Anſwered.* You ſay, [*It is unbecomingly done in Mr.* Baxter *to compare* Cromwell *to the Tyrant* Maximus, *who dedicated a flattering book to his ſon.*]

Anſw. 1. *Maximus* is by moſt Hiſtorians made ſo good a man, of himſelf, that I more feared leſt many would have made me a praiſer of *Cromwell* by the compariſon. 2. He is called a Tyrant, becauſe he was a Uſurper; And do you think that *Cromwell* was not ſo, when he pull'd down both King, Parliament, and Rump? Nay, *Maximus* was choſen in *England* by the Souldiers at a time when pulling down and ſetting up by Soul-

Souldiers was too common; and when his predeceſſors had little better Title than himſelf: Therefore I pray you judge not too roughly of *Maximus*: But *Cromwell* did uſurp at a time when the caſe was otherwiſe; Our Monarchy was hereditary by the undoubted Conſtitution and Laws of the Land; and our Parliament by an Act was to ſit till they had diſſolved themſelves, and he had by ſolemn promiſes obliged himſelf to the Parliament as their ſervant, and had fought againſt and kill'd the King, among other things, on this pretence that he fought againſt his Parliament, and would have pulled them down; which thing he actually and finally did himſelf. Sir, God is not well pleaſed with the juſtifying or palliating of theſe things,, though men may be tempted to do it in faction, and for a divided intereſt.

3. It is publickly known that I did openly and conſtantly ſpeak the ſame things all the time of *Cromwell*'s Uſurpation: Why then is it *unbecoming* now? Among other places, ſee my book of *Infant Baptiſme*, pag. 147 to 152. and 269, 270, *&c.* Where the paſſages ſpoke with caution are yet fuller than all theſe that diſpleaſe you: If *Cromwell*'s party endured me then, cannot you endure me to ſay one quarter as much now?

4. What if I had done otherwiſe? Shall ſuch a ſuffering Preacher as you teach us all, that its *unbecoming* to Repent?

5. That

5. That I *dedicated a flattering book to his son*, is your 31*st*. Untruth. For common ſenſe here will diſcern that you diſtinguiſh between the *Book* and the *Dedication*. And two books at once I directed to him. The books were one againſt Popery, and the other againſt the Engliſh Prelacy, and Re-ordination, and the impoſing of the Liturgie and Ceremonies; And there is not one ſyllable of *his ſon* in all the book, ſave in that Dedication. Nor did I ever ſee him, ſpeak to him, or write to him elſe, nor hear from him. But only hearing that he was diſpoſed to peace, and againſt ſuch turbulent Church-deſtroying waies as you here plead for, I thought it my duty then to urge him to do that which was right and juſt.

31 *Untruth.* Maximus *Imperator Rempub. gubernabat: Vir omni vitæ merito prædicandus, ſi ei vel diadema non legitimè tumultuante milite impoſitum repudiare, vel armis civilibus abſtinere licuiſſet; ſed magnum Imperium nec ſine periculo retuli, nec ſine armis potuit teneri: Sulp. ſevirus Dialog. 3 c. p. 7.*

EXCEPT. XLI. *Anſwered.* Having my ſelf been bred up under ſome Tutors, and with acquaintance, that kept up a reputation of great learning and wiſdom, by crying down the Puritans as unlearned fellows, when themſelves were more unlearned than I will here expreſs, on the by I ſaid that *I had known ſuch*, and alſo that there were ſome ſuch now, who having, *clumſie wits that cannot feel ſo fine a thred, nor are capable of maſtering difficulties*, do cenſure what they underſtand not: *And that many that ſhould be conſcious of the dulneſs and ignorance of their fumbling, unfurniſhed brains, have*

Beda etiam, *Hiſt. Eccl. l. 1. c. 9.* Maximus *vir ſtrenuus & probus atq; Auguſto dignus, niſi contra Sacramenti fidem per tyrannidem emerſiſſet, &c. Invitus propemodum ab exercitu creatus Imperator, &c.*

have no way to keep up the reputation of their wiſdom, but to tell men, O ſuch a one hath dangerous errors, &c.] To this he ſaith, that *if* Ben. Johnſon *or* Hudibras *had writ it,—but for Learned Mr.* B. *mortified Mr.* B. *judicious Mr.* Baxter, *to fall into ſuch levity, will I hope warn all, to take heed how they over-value themſelves, leſt God in judgement leave them to themſelves, as he hath evidently done this poor man,* &c. And he concludeth with an invitation of me, [*to a ſecond and more ſeaſonable retractation.*]

Anſw. I heartily thank you for your pity, and for any zeal of God, though it be not according to knowledg; And for my retractation, I ſuppoſe you would have called it a *third.* You quarrelled not with my ſuſpenſion of my Aphoriſms of Juſtification. And for my retractation of my Political Aphoriſms, I have no more to ſay to you and others of your mind, but that you would better conſult your own peace and other mens, and your innocency too, if you would meddle with your own matters, or with that only which concerneth you.

And to conclude, 1. I unfeignedly forgive you all the revilings and other injuries of this your Book.

2. I intreat you to review what is againſt God and his Church, againſt Faith, Love, and Peace, and to repent of it in time.

3. I beſeech you to give over this pernicious flattery of Profeſſors, and daubing over their ignorance, injudiciouſneſs, pride, and diviſions.

4. I

4. I intreat you to be more impartial towards diſſenters, and let not your Judgment be blinded by your paſſions.

5. To help you to impartiality, I beſeech you conſider how you tempt the Biſhops to think it no harm, to ſilence men that *hold and do ſuch* things as you have vented and done in this book.

6. I beſeech you to that end, better *to ſtudy your ſelf*, and to know what manner of ſpirit you are of. Beſides all the *intimated* Untruths, here are 30 or 31 groſs Untruths in matter of fact which I have ſet before you. For my ſelf, it is not the leaſt part of my Non-conformity, That I dare not lie, by publick Declaration to ſay, I *Aſſent and Conſent* where I do not. Now ſhall a man aggravate the crime of ſuch things as theſe, and yet do what *you do himſelf*?

7. I do ſolemnly profeſs to you, that I feel no malice againſt you, much leſs a deſire of your hurt in all this that I ſay which is againſt your Judgment, but an unfeigned love to you, and tenderneſs of your perſon.

8. Laſtly, I again proteſt againſt the injuſtice of any one that ſhall charge your *Opinions* and *Miſcarriages* on the Non-conformiſts; when I know not two Presbyterians or meer Independants of your mind; though too many ſo called in *England*, have enclined to unjuſt ſeparations. And we are no more concerned in the opinions of them that are not Proteſtants, though they alſo go under the name of Non-conformiſts, than

than in the opinions of the Papiſts, who are called Recuſants.

And to Conclude, I aſſure you that if you write any more at the rates as you have done in this Antidote, I ſhall give you the laſt word, as not intending to confute you, if you ſhall maintain that Light is darkneſs; nor plead any more a cauſe againſt you, which needeth not much argumentation as to ſober judgements, but as to intereſts, paſſions, and byaſſed wills, which are otherwiſe moved than by truth and reaſon, and have but one eare; And I fear not to encourage you before-hand by telling you, that you ſhall ſee that I have ſomewhat elſe to do. For it is a truth that I tell you with grief, that he that will take out of your book, 1. All the falſe doctrines. 2. All the groſs untruths. 3. And all the impotent revilings, together with the profeſſed end or deſign, to undeceive them that have a good opinion of me; will leave ſo little, as may contained in a very narrow room. And he that ſeeketh in it for any thing that ſavoureth much of Judgement, Repentance, Love, Unity, or Peace, muſt have other eyes than mine, or be diſappointed. And I wonder not at that, when the ſound Principles of Love, Unity and Peace are the things that have caſt you into this diſpleaſure, and which you write againſt. For where ever the Principles of Chriſtian Love and Peace ſeem intolerable, there are ſuch contrary principles as will bring forth con-

trary effects, which will prove indeed intolerable in the end.

As there is nothing in this World which God doth design more gloriously to manifest and magnifie than his LOVE, and nothing which he so much obligeth mankind to, especially Believers, as the LOVE of Him and one another, so there is nothing which the great enemy of God and man doth so much hate, and seek to extinguish; fighting by many sorts of weapons neither against small nor great, in comparison of Divine and Christian LOVE. And his common way is to present the *persons* to us as *UNLOVELY*, or *Odious*, whom he would have us hate. And as their own predominant *Carnality* and *Impiety* doth give him full advantage with the ungodly, to make first that *Holyness* which is contrary to them odious, and consequently *holy persons*, and *God himself*; so with those that really Love God, the Tempter findeth this *double* advantage to make their brethren seem odious to them.

1. The great *weakness and error* of their *judgements*, sometimes about the *Things* in difference, and sometimes about the *Persons* through *unacquaintedness*; whereby, either through mistake of the *Cause* or of the *Man*, they easily deny or extenuate all the *amiable Goodness* which is in him, and think that the Love of God, and of Truth and Godliness obligeth them to *hate* their brother, as a supposed enemi: to both. And yet

while

while they openly declare to the World, an *Averſation* and a *want of Love*, and a deſire to make the perſon ſeem *odious* to others, by their obloquy, detraction and backbiting accuſations, they make themſelves believe that all this is indeed no effect of *Hatred or Malice*, but of *Love*, becauſe they can ſtill ſay, that they deſire unfeignedly that the man were of their *mind and way*, which they call a deſiring of his Converſion and Conviction, and of his *own* and the *Churches* good. And thus not only the hereticks of his time, but the very Jews were *Lovers* of *Paul*, and of other Apoſtles: No doubt but they deſired that which they thought was their Converſion and their *good*; And what hatred ſo great that may not have ſuch a cover; not only a feigned pretence, but a real, though erroneous deſire. *Gardiner* and *Bonner* expreſt the like, and no doubt, did really wiſh the Martyrs had been of their mind; And no doubt, but many that wiſh'd this, thought they wiſh'd but the *perſons* and the *Churches* good. The burning zeal which hath ſo much depopulated much of the World, was in many *a zeal of God, though not according to knowledge*. He that can transform himſelf into an Angel of *Light*, and his *Miniſters* into *Miniſters* of *Righteouſneſs* and *free Grace*, no doubt, can teach them to *perſecute* men in Love, and to *excommunicate* them in Love: To revile others in Love, to hinder the Preaching of the Goſpel in Love, to afflict, or to *Divide* the Church in Love.

Alas, how much is the Serpent too ſubtile, for the underſtanding that truſteth to it ſelf, and is not illuminated and guided by the ſpirit of *Light* and *Love*: How eaſily can he hide from us, that in our brother which we ſhould *Love*, and magnifie and multiply his faults into odious crimes, and transform his very virtues into vices, and his righteſt judgement into errors. In this, brother, I thank God that my *principles* give me that advantage of you, that I think you not *odious*, but *weak*.

2. The other yet greater *advantage* that Satan findeth, to kill the Love of moſt, is SELFISHNESS; one *ſelfiſh man* thinks that he may well account him *bad* and *odious*, who is againſt his *worldly wealth* and *honour*: And another thinks him *bad* and *odious*, who is againſt his *Learned* or *Religious reputation*, and would detect his ignorance or vice. Another thinks him *bad* and *odious*, who is againſt his *Opinions*, and the *words* or *manner* of worſhipping God, which he is confident are beſt; And he that hath once ſuffered ſpiritual pride to extoll his own *underſtanding* and his *piety*, will make that ſo far the meaſure of his cenſures, that all ſhall be thought ſo far to ſwerve from Truth and Godlineſs as they ſwerve from him. But if we ſhould *ſuffer much* by others, and that for a cauſe which we take to be the cauſe of God, how eaſie is it for *ſelfiſhneſs* to ſtir up thoſe *Paſſions*, which ſhall blind our underſtandings

to

so far as to see *no good* at all scarce in them that we suffer by, or to extenuate all that is Lovely in them; yea, to think hardly of almost *all others* of *their judgement* and *party*, for their sakes: And if we think we may once call them *Persecutors*, yea, or but such as *Conform* to the *Persecutors waies*, we think it justifyeth almost any thing which we say or do to make them odious: As those on the other side think they are justified in all that they say or do, against men, if they can but call them Schismaticks.

So far are men from *Loving their enemies*, and *blessing* them that *curse* them, and *doing good* to them *that hate* them, *and praying for them that despightfully use them, (or falsely accuse them,) and persecute them*, that they are hardly kept from *hating* those that *Love them*, and *cursing* those that *bless them*, and *hurting* those that would do *them good*, and falsely accusing and *despightfully* using and *persecuting* those that *pray for* them: And yet lest they should not be flattered in their sin, and that yet they may judge themselves the children of our heavenly father, they will do all this as Acts of *Love*, to the *Church* and *Truth*, and to the persons souls; and will Love them, as is said, with a *hurting*, a *reviling*, a *slandering*, a *cursing*, and a *hating* and *malicious Love*.

O that the God of Love would pitty and undeceive the selfish and *passionate* sort of professed Christians! and teach them to know what manner of spirit they are of! O

that he would rebuke the evil ſpirits that are gone forth! The ſpirit of Covetouſneſs and Pride! Of Hypocriſie, and Religious Imagery! Of Self-conceitedneſs! Of Malice and Wrath! Of Back-biting and Falſe accuſing, before that both *Chriſtianity* and *Humanity* be turned into *Deviliſme*, (2. *Tim.* 3. 3. διάβολοι,) and *earth* be more *conformable* to Hell! O that the *ſpirit* of *Light* would make us of one mind, and the ſpirit of *Love* would mortifie both mens *malignant* and *religious paſſions*, *contentiouſneſs* and *malice*, and cauſe us to Love our Neighbours as our ſelves! That as the envious and ſtriving wiſdom from beneath, hath cauſed *Confuſion, and every evil work*, ſo the *wiſdom from above, which is firſt pure, and then peaceable, gentle, and eaſie to be intreated*, might bring forth *Mercy* and *good fruits, without partiality and hypocriſie*; that we might *edifie* the *body of Chriſt in Love*, (*Eph.* 4. 16.) and fruſtrate the hopes of the enemies of our peace, who wait for our total diſſolution, and triumph already in our Diviſions, (when it is their own Mill which grindeth us into powder,) But God can make their *Oven* to bake us into a more Chriſtian and ſalubrious Conſiſtency, (that I may uſe *Ignatius* his allegory,) but it muſt be firſt by tormenting us with *unfeigned Love*; and then we ſhall be Lovely in his ſight, and the *God of Love and Peace* will be with us, 2 *Cor.* 13. 11. *Amen.*

POSI-

POSTSCRIPT.

THat the Excepter may yet further be convinced that it is not any Party of men called *Independents* or *Anabaptists* as ſuch, that I here ſpeak againſt; As I did in my oppoſed Book declare that I thought them both, and all others that hold the foundation, and diſclaim it not by Hereſie, or wicked *lives*, to be ſuch as the Churches ſhould receive into their Communion; and that it is *their* duty to hold Communion in the ſame Aſſemblies, notwithſtanding their difference; and that it is not the Opinions which *denominate* them, that I *write againſt*; but only the *Love-killing* and *Dividing principles* which are among them, which make them fly with cenſure and alienation from their brethren that are as meet for Church-Communion as they; and oft break them into pieces among themſelves; ſo do I yet again here declare the ſame; And not only ſo, but that if it were in my power, when their Communion with others cannot be procured, they ſhould yet be *tolerated* in their *ſeparation it ſelf*, and enjoy Communion with themſelves alone, in their ſeparated Congregations, under the Laws of Peace, being not tolerated to turn their preaching or worſhip into a reviling and reproaching of the Orthodox, to the deſtruction of Chriſtian Love: And I ſhould not doubt

but the *Communion* of the *Orthodox Churches* maintained in *Constant Synods*, together with the *special Countenance* of the Christian Magistrate, and the *daily experience* of Believers (which would still make the aged sort forsake them) would suffice better than violent severities to repress the evil, and to give victorious Truth opportunity to do its proper work.

And to silence this calumny yet more, I do renew the Profession which I have often published, that my own opinion is so much for Independency, as that I think, no Church is made, by God, to be a Ruler to other Churches, under the name of a Mother Church, or a Metropolitane, or Patriarchal, but that all these are humane forms; And that *Councils are not the proper Governours of the particular Pastors; but are for Communion of Pastors and Churches directly*, by way of Consultation, Consent and Agreement; (As I have heretofore declared, that Bishop *Usher* professed his judgement to me.)

Though I confess that the *Pastors* in Council are still the Guides of the *people*, as well as singly at home, and by their *Consent* lay a *stronger governing obligation on them*; And that the *General Law* of *Unity* and *Concord* doth *consequently* bind the *several Pastors*, to concurr in all things Lawful, (*Consideratis considerandis*) with the Consenting Churches.

And even Dr. *Hammond* is for Independency

dency ſo far as to ſay, that [*every ſuch regular aſſembly of Chriſtians under a Biſhop, (ſuch as* Timothy *was) an* Oeconomus *ſet over them by Chriſt, was the Church of the Living God.*] Though he adde; *ſuch again every larger circuit under the Metropolitane, &c.*] Yet he confeſſeth, [*And ſuch all the particular Churches of the whole World, conſidered together under the ſupream head, Chriſt Jeſus, diſpenſing them all by himſelf, and adminiſtring them ſeverally, not by any one* Oeconomus; *but by the ſeveral Biſhops, as inferiour heads of unity to the ſeveral bodies, ſo conſtituted by the ſeveral Apoſtles in their plantations, each of them having an ἐξουσία, a ſeveral diſtinct commiſſion from Chriſt immediately, and ſubordinate to none but the ſupream Dean or plenipotentiary.*] So far he on 1 *Tim.* 3. 15. *e.*

To this do but adde what Biſhop *Bilſon* of ſubjection largely ſheweth, and other Biſhops as well as he, that Metropolitanes and Patriarks are not of Divine but humane inſtitution, ad accidental to the Divine conſtitution of Churches; And alſo what *Ignatius* ſaith, of the Unity of Churches, and deſcription of a Biſhop, that [*To every Church there was one Altar, and one Biſhop with the Presbyters and Deacons,*] and ſo every *communicating body*, or Congregation that had *an Altar*, had a *Biſhop*, (as Mr. *Mede* on this of *Ignatius* ſheweth;) and then you will ſee how far Independency is owned by others as well as by me.

And for further ſilencing the calumny,

Let

let it be noted, that the Churches in *New-England* are commonly called, Independent, or Congregational, and yet they are againſt *Separation*, and do find by experience that *Separation* is as perillous a thing to *Independent* free Churches, as it is to *Dioceſane Churches*, and ſomewhat more, Becauſe they uſe not outward force to preſerve their Unity, and becauſe one ſingle Congregation is ſooner diſſolved by diviſion than ſuch a thing as a *Dioceſane Church* is. And therefore no men ſhould be more willing to ſuppreſs Dividing Principles and Paſſions than the Independents, both becauſe they are moſt charged with them, and with all our Sects and Confuſions, and becauſe they are not the leaſt in danger of them.

And that the *New-England* Churches are againſt the Separation which hath been commonly known by the name of *Browniſme*, I will give you theſe following evidences.

1. Even Mr. *Robinſon* himſelf, a part of whoſe Church began the Plantation at *Plimouth*, though he was one of thoſe that was called a *Semi-ſeparatiſt*, yet hath written for the lawfulneſs of hearing in our Engliſh Conformable Pariſh Churches: And in his Letter to his people in *New-England* (in *Mortons Memorial*) he hath theſe honeſt obſervable paſſages.

[*How imperfect and lame is the work of grace in that perſon who wants Charity to cover a multitude of offences?* ---- *Neither are*

you

you to be exhorted to this grace only upon the common grounds of Chriſtianity, which are, that perſons ready to take offence, either want Charity to cover offences, or wiſdom duely to weigh humane frailties; or laſtly, are groſs, though cloſe hypocrites, as Chriſt our Lord teacheth, Mat. 7. 1, 2, 3. *As indeed in my own experience, few or none have been found which ſooner give offence than ſuch as eaſily take it, neither have they ever proved ſound and profitable members in ſocieties who have nouriſhed this touchy humour.*] To theſe he addeth ſpecial Reaſons from themſelves.

Mr. *Browne* accuſing the Miniſters as *being Separatiſts, and would be Anabapiſts*, &c. The Miniſters anſwered, that *They were neither Separatiſts nor Anabaptiſts, they did not ſeparate from the Church of* England, *nor from the ordinances of God there, but only from the corruptions and diſorders there*, &c.

" Old Mr. *Wilſon* Paſtor of *Boſton*, be-
" ing deſired by all the Elders of the Chur-
" ches aſſembled at his houſe, that (on his
" dying bed) he would ſolemnly declare to
" them, what he conceived to be thoſe ſins,
" which provoked the diſpleaſure of God
" againſt the Countrey, told them, that he
" had long feared theſe ſins following as
" chief among others which God was
" greatly provoked by, 1. Separation.
" 2. Anabaptiſme. 3. Corahiſme; *when*
" *people riſe up*, as *Corah*, againſt their Mi-
" niſters and Elders, as it they took too

" much

"much upon them, when indeed they do "but Rule for Christ, and according to "Christ; yet it is nothing for a brother to "stand up and oppose without Scripture "or reason, the doctrine and word of the "Elder, saying, I am not satisfied, *&c.* "And hence if he do not like the Admini- "stration, (be it Baptisme or the like) he "will then turn his back upon God and his "Ordinances, and go away, *&c.* And (saith "he) for our neglect of baptizing the chil- "dren of the Church, those that some call "Grand-children, I think God is provoked "by it. 4. Another I take to be the making "light of, and not subjecting to the Autho- "rity of Synods, without which the Chur- "ches cannot long subsist. And so for the "Magistrates being *Gallio* like, not caring "for these things, or else not using their "power and authority, for the maintenance "of the Truth and Gospel, and Ordinan- "ces, &c. *Morton*, p. 133. 184. And among the Poems there recorded of him, this is part,

"Firm stood he 'gainst the Familist
"And Antinomian spirit strong;
"He never lov'd the Separatist,
"Nor yet the Anabaptists throng.
"Neither the Tolerators strein,
"Nor Quakers spirit could he brook,
"Nor bow'd to the Morellian train;
"Nor childrens right did over-look,
p. 186.

And

And, *Pag.* 195. in the Poems on their famous *Mitchell* it followeth.

" The Quaker trembling at his thunder,
" fled,
" And with *Caligula* reſum'd his bed:
" He by the motions of a nobler ſpirit
" Clear'd men, and made their Notions
" ſwine inherit.
" The *Munſter Goblin* by his holy flood
" Exorcis'd, like a thin Phantaſma ſtood:
" *Brown*'s *Babel* ſhatter'd by his lightning,
" fell,
" And with confuſed horror pack'd to
" Hell.
" Let not the brazen Schiſmatick aſpire,
" *Lot*'s leaving *Sodom*, left them to the fire.

But the fulleſt evidence is the work of the *New-England* Synod, 1662. who determined of two great points of Church-practice, ſo as greatly tendeth to reconcile them to all the moderate Presbyterians, and other peaceable Chriſtians. The one is 2. [*That Members of the viſible Church according to Scripture, are confederate viſible believers, in particular Churches, and their Infant-ſeed, that is, Children in minority, whoſe next Parents, one or both, are in Covenant.* (The Caſe of Chriſtians that are of no particular Church is not here medled with). 3. And that [*The Infant-ſeed of ſuch when grown up, are perſonally under the Watch, Diſcipline, and Govern-*

Government of the Church]. 4. *That these adult persons are not to be admitted to full Communion, meerly because they are and continue members, without such further qualifications as the Word of God requireth thereunto.* 5. *That Church-Members who were admitted in minority, understanding the doctrine of Faith, and publickly professing their Assent thereto, not scandalous in life, and solemnly owning the Covenant before the Church, wherein they give up themselves and their Children to the Lord, and subject themselves to the Government of Christ in his Church, their children are to be baptised.*]

As to the points themselves, having written a Treatise on the subject, (under the name of *Confirmation*) and therein distinctly shewed my Opinion in reconciling terms, (though it may *seem* stricter than these propositions, and more inclining to the dissenters in some things) I shall say nothing of it here. But by this it is visible, that the *New-England* Synod do not only exclude the practice of Gathering Churches out of Churches (which was the great contest in *England* between the Assembly and the Congregational party); but they provide that not so much as any particular persons that were Baptized in their Churches in Infancy, shall be made Church-members *de novo* (unless by removing from one Church to another), but shall be accounted members till they apostatize notoriously or are Excommunicated: And so

shall

ſhall their children after them ſucceed by the way of Baptiſm into the Church, and they will have no other ordinary Church-door but Baptiſm. And ſo gathering Churches of Baptized perſons will ceaſe, unleſs it be in a ravelled ſtate, when the old Churches being diſſolved, believers are to embody themſelves anew. And Mr. *Davenport* and a few more, ſeeing that by this way their Churches would fall into the way of *England* and other Churches, by a ſucceſſion of Members growing up from Infancy (and not by making them up of *new Adult enterers*, as the Anabaptiſts do,) did oppoſe himſelf by writing againſt the Synod, which by ſome of them is largely Anſwered: Wherein they tell us that there were *not ten in a Synod of above ſeventy* that did in *any thing* Vote on the Negative, and *not above three* againſt the third Propoſition, which carryeth the Cauſe. They frequently diſclaim *Separation*: They cite *Allen* and *Shephard* p. 33. as adviſing for the Reformation of ſuch Churches as our Pariſhes, that they be acknowledged *true Churches*, and then called to Repentance and Reformation, and a ſelect number of thoſe that agree to it, being fit for the ſacrament, &c. to be admitted, and go in the Congregational way, *pag.* 42. they cite *Cotton*, *Holin.* of *Chur. Mem. p.* 92. ſaying, [*Neither among us doth irregeneration alone keep any from Church-fellowſhip with us, unleſs it be accompanied with ſuch fruits as are openly ſcandalous*,

lous, and de convincingly manifeſt irregeneration.] They prudently tell us, p. 45. that [*The Lord hath not ſet up Churches only that a few old Chriſtians may keep one another warm while they live, and then carry away the Church into the cold Grave with them when they die; but that they might with all care and advantages nurſe up ſtill ſucceſſively another generation of ſubjects to Chriſt*, &c.] And that [*We may be very injurious to Chriſt as well as to the ſouls of men, by too much ſtraitening and narrowing the bounds of his Kingdom, or viſible Church on earth.*] Citing *Paræus*, (in *Mat.* 13.) ſaying, [*In Church-Reformation it is an obſervable truth that thoſe that are for too much ſtrictneſs, do more hurt than profit the Church.*] Abundance more to the ſame purpoſe I might collect.

And ſeeing they take children growing up, to be members under Church-diſcipline according to their Capacities, Let it be conſidered ſoberly, whether this doth not intimate to us, that Diſcipline it ſelf muſt not be exerciſed with the hurtful rigor that ſome expect? For I would intreat the ridgeder ſort, if they are Parents, but to tell me, at what age, and for what faults, and for want of Grace, they would have their own children excommunicated? And when they have done, whether they will alſo proceed to a Family Excommunication of them for the ſame cauſes?

They adde a ſixth *Prop.* for the *Baptizing of the Children of thoſe that by death or extraordinary*

traordinary providence have been inevitably hindered from publickly acting as aforesaid, and yet have given the Church cause in judgement of Charity to look at them, as so qualified, and such as had they been called thereto would have so acted.

And they adde a seventh Propos. that [*The Members of Orthodox Churches being found in the faith, and not scandalous in life, and presenting due testimony thereof, these occasionally coming from one Church to another, may have their children baptized in the Church whither they come, by virtue of Communion of Churches; But if they remove their habitation, they ought orderly to covenant and subject themselves to the Government of Christ, in his Church where they settle their abode, and so their children to be baptized: It being the Churches duty to receive such to Communion, so far as they are regularly capable of the same.*]

So that they provide for the reception of all meet persons. But the chief thing observable is that in *Propos.* 5. Where the Qualifications or Description of a just entitleing Profession is laid down, as consisting in no more than these four things, 1. *Understanding* the doctrine of *Faith.* 2. *The publick Profession* of *Assent thereto.* 3. Not to be scandalous in life. 4. And *solemnly owning the Covenant before the Church, wherein they give up themselves and their children before the Lord.* They require no other proofs of Regeneration; nor any particular ac-

count how they were converted; nor what further ſigns of it they can ſhew.

And, for my own part, I never diſſented from thoſe called Congregational, in *England*, in the two great points from which their Churches are denominated, *viz.* 1. That regularly they ſhould conſiſt but of ſo many as are capable of Perſonal Communion, which they call a Congregation. 2. And that this Congregation is not *jure Divino* under the ſpiritual Government of any ſuperior Church, as *Metropolitane*, *Patriarchal*, &c. But my chief diſſent from them hath been, in their going *beyond Independency*, and too many of them coming too neer to *Separation*, 1. By making other tearms of mens title to Church-member-ſhip, than theſe here recited by the *New-England* Synod, and then the underſtanding, ſober profeſſion of Aſſent and Conſent to the Baptiſmal Covenant is. 2. And for their gathering new Churches in the ſeveral Pariſhes, as if there had been no Churches there before, and the members not gathered by them, were not the ſubjects of any Church-Diſcipline; neither the Children nor Adult.

And the reaſons why I have ever diſſented from them in theſe points, have been theſe.

1. Becauſe I find that the contrary was the way of Scripture-times and all antiquity. And that the Apoſtles ſtill received members, upon a ſudden and bare profeſſion of

of belief and consent to the Baptismal Covenant, with the penitent renunciation of the Flesh, the World, and the Devil. And all Ages since have held this course, and made Baptisme the Church-door.

But I shall heartily joyn with any Brethren that will endeavour herein to save the Church, from that state of *Imagery* and dead *Formality*, which Papists and all Carnal Hypocrites have mortified Gods ordinances, and unspeakably injured the Churches by, and are still working every ordinance of God that way: All good men should labour to recover Religion and Christian profession to an *understanding seriousness*.

I will here insert the words of a most Learned and High Prelatist, to shew you that whoever is against this Course in Practice, no sober men can deny it in principles: *Eldersfield* of *Bapt.* pag. 48. marg. [*Upon score of like reason whereto, and for such after-tryal, may have been taken up in the Christian Church that examination which did sift the Constancy or rather Consistency of those that had been taken in young, to their presumed grounds, that if they wavered, they might be known and discharged; Or if they remained constant, they might by Imposition of hands receive what the common name of that Ceremony did import, of their Faith (at least a sign of) Confirmation:* Vasques *hath from* Erasmus *(in the Preface to his Paraphrase on the Gospels) a word of most wholsome, grave, and*

prudent advice, that those who were baptized young, when they begin to write Man, should be examined, An ratum habeant id quod in Catechismo ipsorum nomine promissum fuit? Quod si ratum non habeant, ab Ecclesiæ jurisdictione liberos manere, *in 3 part. Thom. Disp.* 154. To. 2. C. 1. 2. *If they did then stand to what their Sureties had presumed for them, If not, they should be discarded: Most necessary! and of unimaginable benefit;* (But not if it be turned into cursory Imagery,) *Such a scrutiny would shake off thousands of rotten hypocrites, and purge the Church of many such Infidel-believers (or professors,) upon whose dirty faces a little holy water was sprinkled when they knew not what it was; but they no more mind the true Sanctification appertaining, than Turks or Saracens, (who shall rise up in judgement against their washed filthyness,) Or than those of whom St.* Peter, [*It is happened unto them according to the true Proverb, The dog to his vomit, and the washed swine to wallow in the mire,*] *Such Discipline of awakened Reason is that which the World groans for,* (And groan it may for any remedy that the formal Hypocrites will either apply or endure.) *That men would become Christians! O that the truth of faith, and the power of true Christian belief might be seen in the hearts and lives of those, that knowingly put the neck in Christs yoak.*] So far *Eldersfield.* See also Dr. *Patrick* of Baptisme. Dr. *Hammonds* words I have recited after my Treat. of Confirmation; They

are

are very worthy of conſideration. But to leave this digreſſion,

2. My ſecond reaſon why I diſſent from them that will have other Tearms of Church-entrance than Baptiſme, and a ſtricter exaction of a Title to membership than a profeſſed Affent and Conſent to the tearms of that Covenant; is becauſe, if in our very Church-title and Conſtitution we forſake the Scriptural and primitive tearms, we are liable to the exceptions of all diſſenters, and cannot juſtifie our ſelves againſt their accuſations; nor well anſwer them that ſay, It is long of us, and not of them, that they communicate not with us.

3. Becauſe we ſhall unavoidably injure many of Chriſts members, and keep thoſe out whom he will own, and would have us own; to the great injury of him and them.

4. Becauſe we ſhall leſſen and weaken the Church of Chriſt, which is already ſo ſmall, and ſo be injurious to it.

5. Becauſe we ſhall be alwaies at uncertainty, on what tearms to go: For if once we leave Gods preſcribed tearms, we ſhall never know where to fix: But every Paſtor will examine as he pleaſe, and form ſuch Covenant-tearms as are agreeable to the meaſure of his own private judgement and Charity: And even among Congregational men, we ſee already that the tearms of mens Titles do vary, as the Paſtors

ſtors (or Congregations) differ in point of ſtrictneſs.

6. And this layeth a certain foundation for perpetual diſſentions and diviſions; when there are no certain tearms of Concord: And there is no Union when we depart from Chriſts authority. And it is not in vain that Chriſt himſelf preſcribed a form of Baptizing; And if all his Churches ſince the Apoſtles daies, have brought us down that Creed or thoſe Articles of Faith, and form of Baptizing uſed univerſally among them, New waies, and various waies, (even as various as mens degrees of prudence and charity) will never be the tearms of the Churches Unity.

7. And I am very much the more confirm'd againſt this extream by my long experience. Having made it much of my work to know the minds and lives of all the people of the great Pariſh where I lived, and ſince that, having converſed with many of the inferior rank, both for eſtate, and profeſſion of piety, I have found that there is much more good in a great number of thoſe, that are not noted openly for ſpecial Profeſſors of Religiouſneſs, than I did before believe. For no man is uſually noted now for Religious, in this ſtricter ſenſe, 1. Whoſe knowledge hath not ſome readineſs of expreſſion, in converence, and in prayer. 2. And who doth not come to private meetings, and aſſociate himſelf with the ſtricter and forwarder ſort of Profeſſors.

ſeſſors. But there are abundance of things which may hinder ſome ſerious weak Chriſtians from both theſe. Dulneſs of natural parts, and want of good education, and uſe, and teaching, and company, may keep mens parts and utterance very low. And ſome young Chriſtians for want of former uſe, at their firſt true Converſion, cannot ſpeak ſenſe, in the very fundamentals, which yet they have a ſaving ſenſe and knowledge of, (but are like Infants,) and their prayers have little better expreſſions, than *Abba* Father, and the unutterable groans of the ſpirit.

And ſome never had the opportunity of profitable company; And ſome are hindered from ſuch converſe by baſhfulneſs; And ſome by poverty and buſineſs, or diſtance; And ſome by the reſtraint of Parents, Husbands, Maſters, &c. And ſome by ill company, and ſcandall, may have a prejudice againſt thoſe Religious people who are neereſt to them; who yet may be real lovers of Chriſt. Having found in many called common people more knowledge (though not beter utterance) than I expected, and more truſt in Chriſt, and more deſire to be better, and love to thoſe that are better, and more willingneſs to be taught (crowding in publick or private when they have a full opportunity, and affectionately hearing the cloſeſt preaching,) I am grown the more fearful of wronging Chriſt, his Church and them, by number-

ing ſuch with thoſe that are without, when they are Baptized perſons, that never were proved to have apoſtatized, nor to have lived impenitently in any ſin ſo groſs, as the back-bitings, proud-cenſoriouſneſs and diviſions of too many Religiouſer people are.

8. To which may be added the ſad experience of this age of the dreadful miſcarriages of the more noted ſort of Profeſſors, turning Infidels, Ranters, Quakers, Socinians, Antinomians, and too many ſcandalous in life; and ſuch as have deſtroyed Order, Government, Unity, & Reformation, when there was ſcarce an enemie able to hurt it much beſides themſelves: Which is no diſhonour to the Profeſſion of Holyneſs, much leſs to Chriſt and Holyneſs it ſelf; But it ſeemeth to me a notable rebuke of our common over-valuing the meer *Parts* and *utterance*, and *extemporate* performances of the people, and of Miniſters flattering ſuch Profeſſors, and over-looking all of Chriſt which is in many, that have had no ſuch helps for gifts and utterance as they.

2. The ſecond Point in which the *New-England* Synod agreed was, the ſtated Conſociation of Churches, and uſe of Synods, And herein, ſaith the Defence, *p. 99.* there appeared no Diſſent or diſſatisfaction in the Synod. Where they adde alſo (as to the point of Separation,) [*We never ſaid nor thought, that there ſhould be a with-*

drawing

drawing from other Churches upon differences, errors or offences of an inferiour and dubious nature, yea, though continued in: We are far enough from haſtyneſs or harſhneſs in that matter, being profeſſed adverſaries to a ſpirit of ſinful and rigid ſeparation.]

And that Apoſtolical man Mr. *John Eliot*, hath printed a draught for ſtated Synods, (for Counſel and Concord, which is their proper uſe,) which will go far enough to ſatisfie moderate men in that point, and ſaith more for ſuch Synods than ever I ſaid.

2. Having ſaid thus much of the *Judgement of Congregational men in* New-England *againſt Separation*, I ſhall adde ſomewhat of the ſecond Aſſertion, *That it concerneth the Congregational Party, as much in point of Intereſt, to be againſt it, as any ſort of men whatſoever.* 1. Becauſe their Churches have no other bond of Concord (here) but voluntary Conſent; And if that break, they are diſſolved. 2. Becauſe their members being uſually neither, ſo *low* as to be *ignorant* of matters of Controverſie, nor ſo *high* as to be able ſolidly to *Reſolve* them, are moſt like to be quarrelſome, and fall into diviſions. And honeſt people that have a zeal of God, and for Truth and Unity, and not knowledge enough to guide it ſteadily, are liker to contend and trouble one another, than either they that are more careleſs, and have leſs *zeal*, (and therefore like ſwine will leave ſuch pearls to any that will

will take them up,) or they that have found *knowledge* to guide their zeal. 3. And the power which too many of them give the people, over the Paſtors and themſelves, will do much to increaſe theſe diviſions, and cauſe their diſſolution.

And that this is the ſenſe of *New-England*, appeareth, 1. In their baniſhing *Lyford* firſt, and the two *Brownes* after, leſt they ſhould be divided about the Prelacy and Liturgie. 2. By their common judgement againſt dangerous Toleration. 3. By the Hiſtory of Mrs. *Hutchinſons* buſineſs in Sir *Henry Vane*'s daies. 4. By the Hiſtory of Mr. *Williams* buſineſs. 5. And of *Gorton*'s. 6. And of the Quakers of late; All which I ſhall ſay no more of, but only tranſcribe ſome of the words of *Morton*'s Memorial, about Mr. *Wiliams*, p. 78, *&c.*

[*In the year* 1634. *Mr.* Roger Williams *removed from* Plimouth *to* Salem, *He had lived about three years at* Plimouth, *where he was well accepted as an aſſiſtant to Mr.* Ralph Smith *then Paſtor there*; *But by degrees venting of divers of his own ſingular opinions, and ſeeking to impoſe them upon others, he not finding ſuch a concurrence as he expected, deſired his diſmiſſion—foreſeeing that he would run the ſame courſe of rigid Separation and Anabaptiſtry as Mr.* John Smith *the Separatiſt at* Amſterdam *had done, the Church conſented to his diſmiſſion*; *and ſuch as did adhere to him were alſo diſmiſſed, or removed with him, or not long after him, to* Salem.—*But he having*

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in one years time filled that place with principles of rigid Separation, and tending to Anabaptiſtry; the prudent Magiſtrates of the Maſſachuſets *juriſdiction, ſent to the Church of* Salem, *deſiring them to forbear calling him to Office; which they not hearkening to, was a cauſe of much diſturbance.—He being in Office, proceeded more vigorouſly to vent many dangerous Opinions, as,* That it is not lawful *for an Unregenerate man to pray; nor to take an Oath; and in ſpecial, not the Oath of Fidelity to the Civil Government; Nor was it lawful for a godly man to have Communion, either in Family-Prayer, or in an Oath, with ſuch as they judged unregenerate. And therefore he himſelf refuſed the Oath of Fidelity, and taught others ſo to do. Alſo that it was not lawful ſo much as to hear the godly Miniſters of* England, *when any occaſionally went thither; and therefore he admoniſhed any Church-members that had done ſo, as of heynous ſin. Alſo he ſpake dangerous words againſt the Patent which was the foundation of the Government of the* Maſſachuſets *Colony. Alſo he affirmed that the Magiſtrate had nothing to do in matters of the Firſt Table, but only the Second: And that there ſhould be a general and unlimited Toleration of all Religions: And for any man to be puniſhed for any matters of his Conſcience, was Perſecution. —Staying at home in his own houſe, he ſent a Letter, which was read in the publick Church-Aſſembly, to give them notice, That if* the Church of Salem *would not ſeparate, not only*

from

from the Churches of England, *but the Churches of* New-England *too, he would ſeparate from them. The more prudent and ſober part of the Church being amazed at his way, could not yield to him: Whereupon he never came to the Church-Aſſembly more, profeſſing ſeparation from them as Antichriſtian: And not only ſo, but he withdrew all private Religious communion from any that would hold Communion with the Church there. Inſomuch as that he would not pray, nor give thanks at meals with his own Wife, nor any of his Family, becauſe they went to the Church-Aſſemblies. Divers of the weaker ſort of the Church-members, that had been throughly levened with his Opinions, of which number were divers Women that were zealous in their way, did by degrees fall off to him: Inſomuch as that he kept a Meeting in his own houſe, unto which a numerous company did reſort, both on the Sabbath day and at other times, by way of* Separation *from, and oppoſition to the Church-Aſſembly there: Which the prudent Magiſtrates underſtanding, and ſeeing things grow more and more towards a general diviſion and diſturbance; after all other means uſed in vain, they paſſed a Sentence of Baniſhment againſt him, out of the* Maſſachuſets *Colony, as againſt a diſturber of the Peace of the Church and Commonwealth. After which Mr.* Williams *ſate down in a place called* Providence*—and was followed by many of the Members of the Church of* Salem, *who did zealouſly adhere to him, and cryed out of the Perſecution that was againſt him: Some others alſo*

Had not this man brought the Catholick-Church into a little room.

alſo reſorted to him from other parts. They had not been there long together, but from rigid Separation they fell to Anabaptiſtry, renouncing the Baptiſm which they had received in their Infancy, and taking up another Baptiſm, and ſo began a Church in that way. But Mr. Williams *ſtopped not there long; For after ſome time he told the people that had followed him, that he was out of the way himſelf, and had miſled them; For he did not find that there was any upon earth, that could adminiſter Baptiſme, and therefore their laſt Baptiſme was a nullity as well as their firſt: And therefore they muſt lay down all, and wait for the coming of new Apoſtles: And ſo they diſſolved themſelves, and turned* Seekers; *keeping that one Principle, That every one ſhould have liberty to worſhip God, according to the light of their own Conſciences; but otherwiſe not owning any Churches or Ordinances of God, any where upon earth.*] So far the Hiſtory.

To which I adde, that this man was one of the great inſtruments after all this, of ſublimating the Engliſh Separation to the ſame height, and gratifying the Papiſts by raiſing up the ſect of *Seekers*, who ſaid, that both Scripture, Miniſtry, Church and Ordinances were loſt. And had they not now broken the Church ſufficiently, and made it *ſmall enough*, when they had made it *none*?

God forbid that I ſhould tranſcribe any of this with a deſire to bring reproach on any mens perſons, but only to help our dear

dear brethren that are in danger, to profit by the warning of other mens falls.

For to this end was the Scripture written historically, with the falls of the Saints inserted in it.

The same History, pag. 139, 140. thus describeth Mr. *Thomas Dudley* a Principal Founder and Pillar of the *Massachussets*, and often Governour, dying 77 years old, that [*His zeal to order appeared in contriving good Laws, and faithfully executing them on Criminal Offenders, Hereticks and Underminers of Religion: He had a piercing judgement to discover the Wolf, though cloathed with a Sheep-skin,*—] These following are the conclusion of a pious Copy of Verses found in his pocket when he was dead.

Let men of God in Courts and Churches watch,
O're such as do a Toleration hatch,
Lest that ill egg bring forth a Cockatrice,
To poyson all with Heresie and Vice.
If men be left, and otherwise Combine,
My Epitaph's, I dy'd no Libertine.

(But this is no excuse to them, that Tolerate not men to obey the Laws of Christ.)

To these I may adde that (though many Prelatists utterly mistake, and think that it is the Ministers every where that are the chief Leaders of the people to Separation, yet) both in *New-England* and in *Old*, the people

people are ſo much proner to it than the Miniſters, (except a very few,) that if it were not for the wiſdom, gravity, ſtability and authority of the Miniſters reſtreining them, the matter would be otherwiſe than it is. As this Synod of *New-England* ſheweth you their ſtability and moderation, ſo do the choiceſt of their Paſtors ſtill ſtand firm againſt all extreams, and hold the people in that Concord which they have. The excellent ſervice of Mr. *Mitchell* in this kind before he died is predicated by all. I will not recite all the complaints I heard from Mr. *Nortons* mouth, againſt the ſeparating humour of many people, and their danger thereupon; nor the many Letters to the ſame purpoſe, which many worthy men thence have ſent over to their friends, and their particular lamentations of the caſe of *Hartford*, *Boſton*, &c. which I have had the ſight of; which fully teſtifie that they are no promoters of thoſe waies.

The ſad caſe of the *Bermuda's* I before mentioned: Sad indeed, when in ſo diſciplin'd a Plantation, one Miniſter ſhall turn away the greater part from Church-Communion, till they become aliens,— And the reſt whom he gathered as the only worthy perſons, ſhall ſo many turn Quakers and ſuch like, till Religion between both is, ---alas, how low (as their late worthy Miniſter fore-named teſtifyeth.)

The diſſolution of the ſeparated Churches

ches of the Engliſh in the *Low Countreys* by their own diviſions, is a thing too well known to be concealed.

From all which I gather, that it is the Intereſt of the Congregational Churches themſelves, as much as of any others, to joyn with us for the Principles of Chriſtian Love, forbearance and Unity; and againſt the Principles of alienation and diviſion: which is all that I am driving at.

Obj. *But the Churches of* New-England *would not joyn with a Church that ſhould uſe the Common-prayer in that worſhip, nor in the Sacrament.*

Anſw. Nor I neither ordinarily if I were with them, and in their caſe; who have liberty to worſhip God in the moſt edifying and ſerious, and orderly manner that they can. And yet were I in *Armenia*, *Abaſſia*, or among the Greeks, I would joyn in a much more defective form than our Liturgie, rather than in none. And that this is the judgement of many *New-England* Miniſters, (to joyn with the Engliſh Liturgie rather than have no Church-worſhip;) I have reaſon to conjecture, becauſe in their forcſaid Defence of the Synod, *Pref. pag.* 4, 5. They profeſs themſelves to receive their principles not from the Separatiſts, but from the *good old non-Conformiſts*, to whom they adhere, naming *Cartwright*, *Ames*, *Paræus*, *Parker*, *Baines*, *Fox*, *Dearing*, *Greenham*, &c. And I need not tell thoſe that have read their writings, that the old *non-Conformiſts*

Conformiſts did ſome of them read the Common-prayer, and the moſt of them judge it lawful to joyn in it: Or elſe Mr. *Hilderſham*, Mr. *Rich. Rogers*, &c. would not write ſo earneſtly to men to come to the beginning, and prefer it before all private duties: And *Perkins* was for kneeling at the Sacrament: And Mr. *Baines* his ſucceſſor in his Letters writes for Communicating kneeling at the Sacrament, and anſwereth the objections.

But though I write this to give them the due honour of their moderation and ſober judgement, yet not as making them or any men our Rule, in faith or worſhip.

Obj. *Therefore the Churches of* New-England *reprove not ſeparation from a Common-prayer Church, though they would have none ſeparate among themſelves, becauſe there is no juſt Cauſe.*

Anſ. 1. The former anſwer may ſerve to make it probable, that they would joyn with them as Churches, in caſe they had not better to joyn with on lawful tearms. 2. And their own expreſſions ſignifie that they take the Engliſh Pariſhes that have godly Miniſters, for true Churches, though faulty. 3. And thoſe that I now write for cannot forget, that they gathered their Churches by ſeparation out of our Pariſh-Churches, when there was no Common-prayer nor Ceremonies uſed, nor any difference in worſhip found among us, that I

know of; And that in *New-England* it ſelf, the Principles which I deny, do too of procure ſeparation from thoſe Churches, that have nothing which moderation and peaceablenets will think a ſufficient cauſe of ſuch disjunction.

4. And it is well known that the name of a *Separatiſt* and *Browniſt* was firſt taken up here in *England*, with relation to theſe Pariſh-Churches where they had the Liturgie and Ceremonies as now. Therefore they would ſpeak equivocally in diſclaiming *Separatiſts* and *Browniſts*, if they meant not ſuch as the word is firſt and commonly uſed to ſignifie. 5. And if that were not the ſenſe, a Separatiſt might be ſaid to be againſt Separation as well as they in *New-England*. For *Canne* or *Johnſon* would be againſt ſeparating from their own Churches, or from any which they judged as faultleſs. 6. It was the Pariſh-Churches that had the Liturgie, and were accuſed to have 91 *Antichriſtian* Errors (in them and the Church of *England* which they belonged to) which Mr. *H. Jacob* the Father of the Congregational Party, wrote for Communion with againſt *Francis Johnſon*, and in reſpect to which he called thoſe Separatiſts againſt whom he wrote; The ſame I may ſay of Mr. *Bradſhaw*, Dr. *Ames*, and other *non-Conformiſts*, whom the Congregational brethren think were favourable to their way. And if the old *Independents* (as well as the reſt of the *non-Conformiſts*) accounted

counted them *Culpable Separatiſts* that then wrote for ſeparation from the *Pariſh-Churches* (for *Diocesane Churches* I meddle not with,) then we have ſmall reaſon to think that thoſe *New-England* Brethren that diſclaim the Separatiſts, were of the mind of theſe Separatiſts themſelves, or that they differed from the *old Independents* herein, when they ſeem rather to be of ſuch healing principles and temper towards the Presbyterians, (as in my opinion) they have in their Synodical Concluſions made up almoſt all the breach: And therefore are not to be accounted more for ſeparation than the old Congregational Divines.

And that you may ſee that the Magiſtrates of *New-England* are of the mind of their Paſtors in the Synod, and take *the youth to be under the Miniſters Charge*, or at leaſt that I may hereby expreſs my gladneſs for this work of their great prudence and Chriſtian zeal, and call thoſe my brethren of the Miniſtry to Repentance, who did neglect this work of perſonal Inſtruction, while we had liberty to exerciſe the Paſtoral office; and alſo that I may yet remember them that are ſilenced, what abundance of good the Law yet alloweth them to do, by this courſe of going from houſe to houſe, and of Catechizing the youth, (ſeeing we are reſtrained to no members under 16 years of age,) I ſay for theſe reaſons, I ſhall give you as my Concluſion, the Order

of the Governour and Council of the *Massachusets* in *New-England* to all the Elders and Ministers in their Jurisdiction, for Catechizing, and private labours with all the Families under their Charge; Dated at *Boston*, *Mar.* 10. 1668.

TO

To the Elders and Miniſters of every Town within the Juriſdiction of the *Maſſachuſets* in *New-England:*

The Governour and Council ſendeth greeting;

Reverend, and Beloved in the Lord,

WHereas we find in the Examples of holy Scripture, that Magiſtrates have not only excited and commanded all the people under their Government, *to ſeek the Lord God of their Fathers, and do the Law and Commandment*, 2 Cro. 14. 2, 3, 4. Ezra, 7. 25, 26, 27. but alſo ſtirred up and ſent forth the Levites, accompanied with other principal men, *to teach the good knowledge of the Lord throughout all the Cities of Judah*, 2. Chron. 17. 6, 7, 8, 9. which endeavours have been crowned with Gods bleſſing.

Alſo we find that our Brethren of the Congregational Perſwaſion in *England* have made a good Profeſſion, in their Book, entituled, *A Declaration of their Faith and Order*, Pag. 59. Sect. 14. where they ſay, *That although Paſtors and Teachers ſtand eſpecially related unto their particular Churches; yet they ought not to neglect others living*

within their Parochial Bounds, but beſides their conſtant publick Preaching to them, they ought to enquire after their profiting by the word inſtructing them in, and preſſing upon them (whether young or old) the great Doctrines of the Goſpel, even perſonally and particularly, ſo far as their ſtrength and time will permit.

We hope that ſundry of you need not a ſpur in theſe things, but are conſcienciouſly careful to do your duty: yet foraſmuch as we have cauſe to fear, that there is too much neglect in many places, notwithſtanding the Laws long ſince provided therein; We therefore think it our duty to emit this Declaration unto you, earneſtly deſiring, and in the bowels of our Lord Jeſus requiring you to be very diligent and careful to Catechize and Inſtruct all the people (eſpecially the Youth) under your Charge, in the Sound and Orthodox Principles of Chriſtian Religion; and that not only in publick, but privately from houſe to houſe, as bleſſed *Paul* did, *Acts* 20. 20. or at leaſt three, four, or more Families meeting together, as ſtrength and time may permit, taking to your aſſiſtance ſuch godly and grave perſons as to you may ſeem moſt expedient. And alſo that you labour to inform your ſelves, (as much as may be meet) how your Hearers do profit by the Word of God, and how their Converſations do agree therewith; and whether the Youth are taught to read the *Engliſh* Tongue: taking all occaſions

caſions to apply ſuitable *Exhortations* particularly unto them, for the rebuke of thoſe that do evil, and for the encouragement of them that do well.

The effectual and conſtant proſecution hereof, we hope will have a tendency to promote the Salvation of Souls, To ſuppreſs the growth of Sin and Prophaneneſs, To beget more Love and Unity amongſt the people, and more Reverence and Eſteem of the Miniſtry, and will aſſuredly be to the enlargement of your Crown and Recompence in Eternal Glory.

Given at Boſton *the* 10*th. of* March, 1668. *by the Governour and Council, and by them Ordered to be Printed, and ſent accordingly.*

Edward Rawſon, *Secret.*

FINIS.

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